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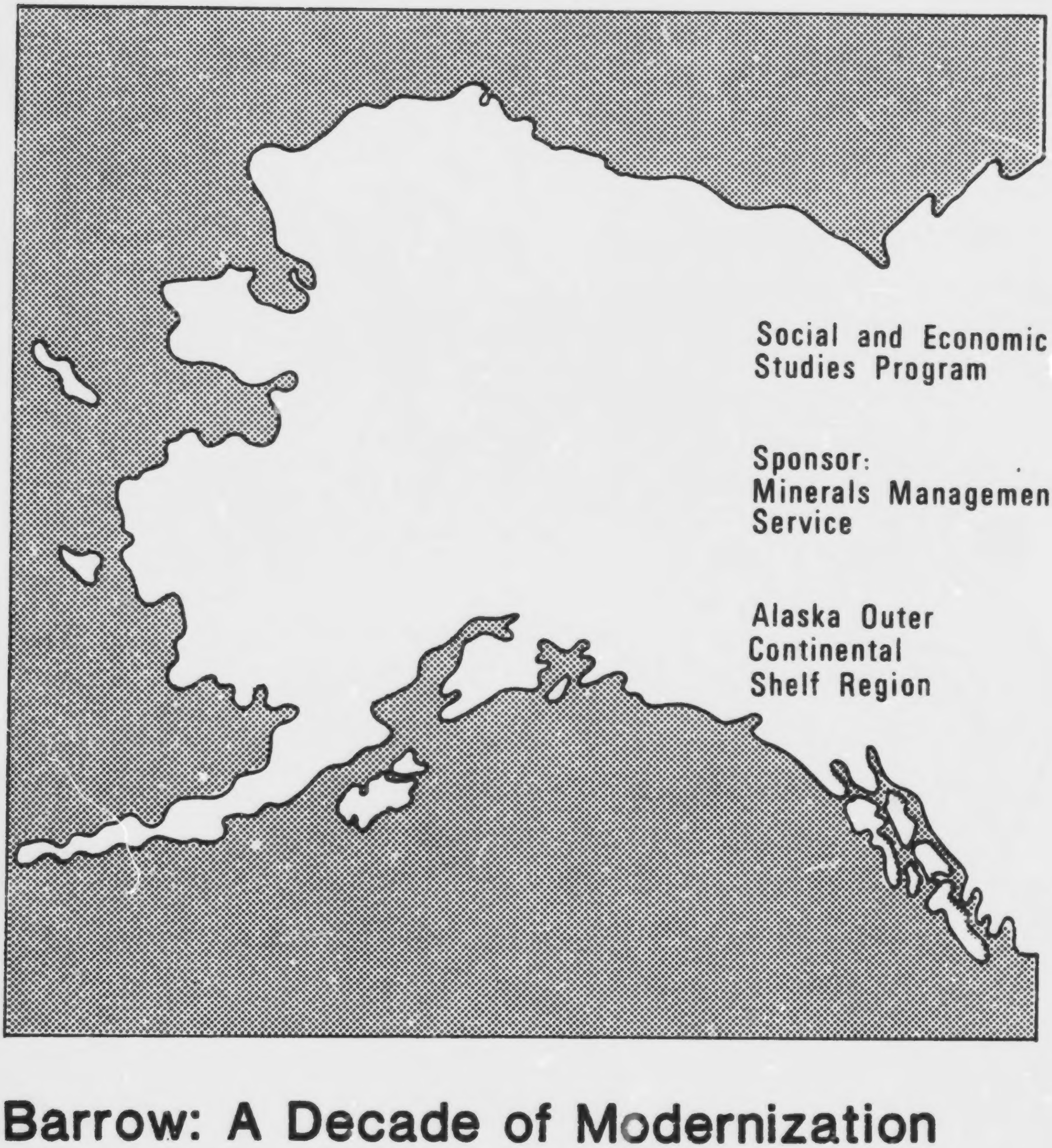
Social and Economic
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Alaska Outer
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Barrow: A Decade of Modernization

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study was designed to describe current sociocultural and socioeconomic conditions in the community of Barrow, to establish the historical context of recent changes in the town, and to increase our understanding of the effects of OCS development on the community's social, cultural, and economic systems. A general ethnographic approach was used in the research, which included standard participant-observation techniques and administration of protocols. Data collection focused on general trends in the community and the functioning of extended family networks (particularly social organization, economic strategies, and relationships among households). We collected biographical information to increase understanding of changes at the individual level. The study also utilized results of the 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey and other primary and secondary data.

Barrow has experienced extensive social and economic transformations, particularly during the 1975 to 1985 period. The North Slope Borough Capital Improvements Program stimulated a boom in the Barrow economy which attracted many non-Natives. Most of this population, which now represents nearly 40 percent of the total, can be considered permanent. Native heads of households now represent a minority in the total number of household heads. Barrow's population also shows surprising racial diversity which has emerged during the last decade.

The borough government is the largest employer in Barrow. The private sector, led by the non-Native population, temporarily burgeoned during the height of the construction boom, but the number of private businesses is decreasing as borough expenditures decline. Iñupiat males, who dominated the short-term, high-paying jobs associated with borough construction, now represent the largest unemployed sector of the population.

Iñupiat women entered the labor force in the largest numbers since Western contact. They tend to hold the lower-paying, permanent administrative and operations jobs in the borough and other organizations. They have also achieved positions of political leadership in the new institutions. The proportion of Iñupiat women raising families without husbands also increased during this period.

The Iñupiat demonstrated a remarkable ability to develop and adapt to a proliferation of new institutions and to utilize them to promote their political and economic welfare. Some of these new institutions have been developed to address the social problems and family violence which increased during this period.

The extended family, operating through interrelated households, is salient in community social organization. Interrelated households are the primary locus of domestic functions, including visiting and interchange, nurturing children, and subsistence production and distribution. Modern Barrow is characterized by a high degree of community integration, which is directly related to the maintenance of extended family relationships.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We greatly appreciate the interest and generosity of the families and individuals who kindly agreed to participate in the household interviews and biographical sketches. Without their contributions, this would not have been possible.

We owe particular thanks to the Mayor of the North Slope Borough, George Ahmaogak, who supported our efforts by granting us access to borough records and encouraging the full cooperation within the departments. We owe special thanks to the Planning Department, the Environmental Protection Office, the Department of Health and Social Services, the Department of Administration and Finance, the Housing Department, and the Assessing Department. The North Slope Borough School District also provided support for which we are grateful. We would also like to extend our thanks to the City of Barrow and the Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission for their assistance.

The objectives of the study have been further enhanced through the cooperative efforts of Karla Kolash of the NSB Planning Department and Jan Erickson, who allowed us access to the 1985 NSB Barrow Survey. We owe them special thanks. Also, our appreciation extends to David Libbey who gave us copies of the Utqiagvik Ethnohistory Project reports.

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To Dawn Scott and Judith Brogan we owe special acknowledgments for their efforts in the production and editing of this report.

We would also like to express our appreciation to the MMS staff of the U.S. Department of the Interior. Karen Gibson, who served as the Contracting Officer's Technical Representative, and Don Callaway consistently offered valuable assistance and support throughout this project

Finally to the people of Barrow, we thank you for the kind welcome and for the hospitality so graciously extended to us, and for sharing your knowledge.

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Barrow: A Decade of Modernization

The Barrow Case Study
Prepared for
Minerals Management Service
Alaska OCS Region
Alaska OCS Socioeconomic Studies Program

By:
Rosita Worl and Charles W. Smythe, Ph.D.
Chilkat Institute

September 30, 1986

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NOTICE

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The Iñupiat of Barrow have experienced extremely rapid and extensive sociocultural and socioeconomic change during the past decade. These changes are directly related to the North Slope Borough (NSB) Capital Improvement Program (CIP). Enormous NSB revenues have been generated directly and indirectly from petroleum development within borough boundaries. Together with the Iñupiat corporations mandated by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971, the new organizations have transformed the physical and social environment of Barrow and provided employment for much of the population.

The NSB CIP boom provided employment to a large work force, including many non-Iñupiat, and for the first time, Iñupiat women in large numbers. Different ethnic groups have become an integral part of the community. The proportion of Iñupiat residents declined markedly as the non-Iñupiat population increased. These factors have fueled the rate of change.

Earlier studies (Sonnenfeld 1957, Spencer 1976) revealed that a major characteristic of Iñupiat society is its resiliency and cultural tenacity, which allowed it to adapt to changes in previous historic periods. The Barrow Iñupiat have been able to incorporate elements of Western society into their culture while preserving their cultural values and patterns of behavior.

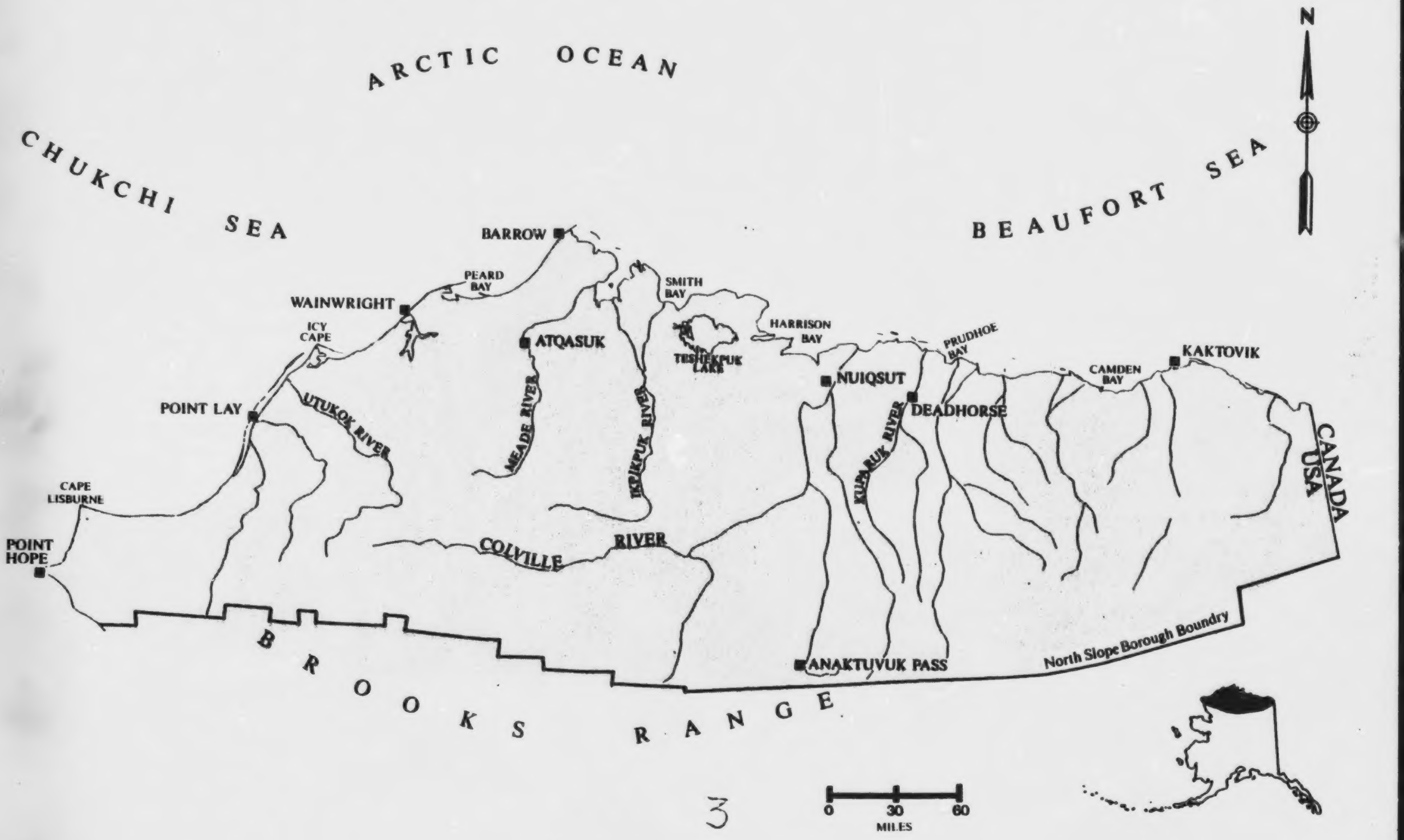
The objectives of the Barrow Case Study were "to establish an understanding of the current conditions in the sociocultural and socioeconomic systems of the community of Barrow, to provide insight into the historic context which affects its current population . . . and to add to our understanding of the effects of OCS development on the sociocultural and socioeconomic systems of Barrow" (Federal Contract Number 14-12-0001-30227). The study was designed to assess how the social structure of the community adapted to the rapidly changing social and economic milieu which characterized Barrow from 1975 to 1985. A major focus was to assess the persistence of the extended family and the characteristics which allowed it to function or maintain itself. The study was developed to analyze how individuals and households combine their time, effort, and resources to maximize benefits in both the wage and subsistence economies.

We adopted a general ethnographic approach to achieve these goals. First, we wanted to describe modern Barrow: the remarkable changes in physical setting (new houses and apartment buildings, roads, schools and many other facilities), economic conditions (raising local income to very high levels and attracting many new racial groups), and institutions (proliferation of new organizations and institutions in the community).

Second, we focused much of our work on the structure and domestic functioning of the Iñupiat extended family and kinship

FIGURE 1

NORTH SLOPE REGION


ARCTIC OCEAN
CHUKCHI SEA
BEAUFORT SEA
N
BARROW
PEARD BAY
WAINWRIGHT
ICY CAPE
ATQASUK
SMITH BAY
TESHEKPUK LAKE
HARRISON BAY
PRUDHOE BAY
NUIQSUT
DEADHORSE
CAMDEN BAY
KAKTOVIK
CANADA
USA
POINT LAY
UTUKOK RIVER
MEADE RIVER
IKPIKPUK RIVER
KUPARUK RIVER
CAPE LISBURNE
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ANAKTUVUK PASS
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networks. We studied families from the standpoint of economics (the now familiar question of subsistence and employment, or the cash economy), and also (perhaps primarily) to describe social organization and integration in the community (as contrasted with political and economic development and associated formal institutions, through which Barrow is usually studied). A secondary intent of the family research was to look at the other side of the coin, to examine some of the problems some families are experiencing in the modern setting. This was done through an examination of the recent development of family social service agencies and their penetration of family networks and domestic functions. The ethnographic present tense utilized in this report refers to the summer of 1985.

Methodology

We carried out the research project in three stages. The contract was awarded in April of 1985, and preliminary literature review and a plan for fieldwork were developed between April and early June. Preparations were made for the second stage of work, field research in Barrow, which started July 1 and extended for nine weeks. The first two weeks were devoted to community orientation, which involved general participant-observation in various settings in the town, renewing old acquaintances, and discussing the research with members of local organizations. Discussions were held with key informants and the local research assistants regarding the selection of extended families to be included in the study. The two primary researchers were joined by Professors Norman and Nancy Chance during this initial period.

We hired three research assistants from the community for the project. Two Iñupiat individuals assisted in the initial definition of family types, in the identification of families for extended study, and in the development of the household protocol. One of these persons accompanied researchers as they made observations and had discussions with family members, providing assistance with observation and conversation during family visits. She also provided translations during interviews and kept a notebook of her observations. The other research assistant was engaged in data collection from agencies and institutions. She compiled available information from records and carried out informal discussions with agency personnel about specified topics, under our supervision. She was responsible for collecting quantified information from a variety of sources, interviewing key personnel about characteristics of the data (and reliability), and obtaining background information on the trends exhibited in the data.

Intensive data collection commenced the third week of July and continued through the first week of September. All researchers were responsible for ethnographic observations of community social and cultural life throughout the fieldwork period. Each kept a record of impressions, observations, and perceptions of their activities and interviews. One computer was not enough to serve four active researchers with notes to compile daily. Some of us recorded observations on tape, or resorted to handwritten notes.

We developed a detailed household protocol, a standardized list of questions for collecting information, for the research on Iñupiat families. With the assistance of our local researchers, we modified the protocol after several applications until a satisfactory set of questions, and sequence, was achieved. This protocol was the basis for the study of relationships within and among households, as well as of the household economies. We chose several individuals for biographical sketches--about community history, family migrations, job history, subsistence use of outlying areas, patterns of relationship and cooperation with other household and extended family members, marriage and adoptions, and experiences of participation in formal organizations. We selected by age and sex to include members of different generations. Both male and female researchers conducted biographical interviews.

In addition to families, we also selected formal organizations and institutions for more focused research on special topics. Family social service agencies, for example, were studied as part of the research into the incidence of intergroup and intragroup stress and conflict. The study included the state agency for child placements and the Arctic Women in Crisis Center (AWIC), in addition to the NSB Department of Health and Social Services (DHSS), since we were aware of recent trends in family social pathologies. Other agencies providing topical data included the NSB Departments of Planning, Housing, Administration and Finance, Public Safety, and the School District; KBRW; City of Barrow; Stuaqpak, and others.

The final stage of the research, analysis and write-up of our information, began in mid-September, 1985. In addition to reviewing and analyzing our field data, this stage included the review of additional sources of published and unpublished material and the acquisition of specific new data from state agencies. We developed a data base from three surveys of Barrow (1978, 1980, and 1985), which aided in analysis of the magnitude of recent population and employment changes in households. We also conducted our own analyses of additional elements of the 1985 Barrow survey which are incorporated into the study.

We utilized three basic approaches in our research: archival literature review, participant-observation, and informal discussions. Each was pursued in conjunction with the others throughout the project. By combining them we maximized the results of all three techniques. The findings of one method were integrated with lines of inquiry pursued through the others, which enabled us to cross-check our results by several methods in the course of the research. Such cross-fertilization proved valuable during fieldwork, review of data collection results, and planning of subsequent research. We continued to cross check and compare alternative approaches and results during analysis and write-up of our findings. Through a process of "triangulation," these different techniques were used in combination to increase the validity of our conclusions.

Archival research was continuous throughout the study. Prior to going to Barrow for fieldwork, we reviewed the major published and unpublished reports, documents, monographs, and papers on Barrow and the region. We also examined results of housing and employment surveys conducted in Barrow in 1978 and 1980. We referred to these sources during the fieldwork and discovered other data sources from agencies and organizations in Barrow.

During the fieldwork period in the community we obtained records from several local government departments, state and local health and social service providers, the police, and the court system. In the course of this work we discussed the reliability and validity of the data with key informants within the agencies. We asked for their interpretation of the figures in terms of recent changes and socioeconomic processes in the community.

After our return to Anchorage for analysis and write-up, we continued archival research for additional unpublished as well as published materials. An important element of this phase was the analysis of three Barrow housing and employment surveys sponsored by the NSB. We developed a data base of comparable information from three years of surveys (1978, 1980, and 1985), which we used to examine changes in household characteristics, migration, and employment during this period.[1] The borough was generous with the 1985 survey data, which gave us the opportunity to make more detailed analyses of population, employment, and household characteristics for the present year.

Participant-observation was employed in many settings. We attended numerous community events, starting with the Fourth of July celebrations, throughout the summer. Participation in the day-to-day activities in Barrow, such as riding the bus, going to Stuaqpak, and visiting the Dry Haul "nightclub," was another important context for this research method. We attended public meetings, conferences, and hearings to observe the behavior of community residents and the deliberations of boards and commissions as they occurred.

Participant-observation was a basic approach in our research on family social organization and economic patterns, which was the focus of our research. In conjunction with informal discussion, observing activities of the households was a rich source of information on the interrelationships among households and the participation of household members in subsistence, employment, and formal institutions inside and beyond the village boundaries. After becoming acquainted with the members of our sample households, we made several return visits for follow-up observations and discussions in the homes.

The third research method in this study was informal discussions with knowledgeable individuals in different positions throughout the community. Depending on the purpose of the interview and the situation in which it took place, the discussion was more or less directed. For example, when we pursued information on the use of family services in the community, the discussion was focused on the patterns of interactions between the service providers and community members, the type and frequency of caseloads, the ethnicity of clients, and the extent to which persons were new or repeat clients. When seeking information on community history, response to change, and household relationships and economic patterns, discussions were more informal, and less directed.

The major research activity using informal discussions was the examination of household economic patterns and interhousehold social and economic relationships. We developed a detailed protocol, which guided our discussions with the families with uniformity, but also with flexibility (see Appendix A). The protocol was designed to provide information for an input/output analysis of a sample of households and, to elicit comments to illuminate the scope of social relationships between members of that household with any others, then or in the past. The household was the unit of data collection, but it was not assumed to be independent of others. The extended family was the unit of analysis in this study.

In collecting information on residents' observations of community life and their perceptions of recent changes, we employed life history research techniques. This approach involved gentle direction by the researcher and discussions of events and activities brought up by the individual. The life history method was valuable for understanding aspects of household and extended family dynamics, differences in the economic strategies which individuals have followed in their lives, and personal views of events in the lives of individuals residing in Barrow and in other locations in the state. To maximize the scope of our biographical sketches, we interviewed members of different generations, men and women, which allowed us to compare their different experiences.

After leaving the community in early September, we maintained close communication with individuals from the community. We spoke with people over the telephone to follow-up research topics during the course of analysis and write-up, and to learn about recent events of interest in the town. We also got together with Barrowites on their visits to Anchorage for meetings or on their way to other locations. This exchange with town residents supplemented our discussions with and requests to local and state government for more information on specific topics after fieldwork was completed.

The Sample

The method of sampling extended families was a purposive approach in which we made selections based on several identified criteria and followed out the existing interconnecting networks to record their pattern and extent. The more formal random or stratified random approaches were rejected because structured interviews in a survey format were not permitted under the terms of our contract, and time was not sufficient for a sample of sufficient size in the community.

Also, a network type of sample, in which interdependence among the units is assumed, fits the reality of extended family networks more appropriately than one which assumes independence. The informal approach maximized the available field research time, and it permitted a flexible approach to sampling in different contexts. The application of this approach was enhanced by the utilization of local research assistants and our knowledge of the community in specific areas.

Since the primary focus of this study was on the Iñupiat family and the interrelationships of extended family households, the major concern was the selection of families for in-depth interviewing and participant observation. We made selections among extended families, not households, and we used several criteria. First, we distinguished between families descended from one of the white whalers (usually more prominent in the community) and others that have been long-time Barrow residents. We also made a distinction between them and families which migrated into the town after 1940.

Within these criteria we made additional selections representing finer distinctions among family groups, after having extended discussions of family patterns with several informed residents. These selections reflect certain economic and life cycle criteria identified at the outset of the fieldwork, which were modified during the initial stages of the research. We chose one family group which was younger, as a group, than several others we had selected. The core household of this group was representative of a younger, more educated family type which has pursued employment as their primary economic strategy.

Another family group was selected that represented a subpopulation which has had a history of chronic use of family social services in the town. We found that lower income, as a sole criteria, was not correlated with families of this type. An additional extended family network was selected because among its member households was one headed by a non-Iñupiat hunter. We selected for this mixed racial category because of the high incidence of interethnic households in modern Barrow. In addition, this network is characterized by family members who are employed for most of the year, but manage to take extended leaves for hunting and fishing.

We also made further selections of two households which were not participants in family networks to the extent the others were. One of these families was, in this sense, more "isolated" from others, and as such represented a contrast to extended families. The other household was a single woman who worked in the oil industry. She was selected as another example of a more "isolated" type as well as one with a more unique employment history of interest to the study. Finally, in addition to the sampled families, we made numerous regular visits to several households in one other extended family for observational purposes.

The sample was comprised of five extended family groups, plus two "isolated" households. Four of the family groups had four composite households, and three had three households. The boundaries of these networks is somewhat arbitrary, as will be evident from the discussion of extended families in chapter seven. For our purposes the importance of the findings is the description of the pattern of relationships among families and households.

All of the sample households were Native in composition. We selected for this characteristic, and did not intend to sample the full range of ethnic diversity in the community for the extended family analysis. Native households comprise 57 percent of the total number of households (935) in Barrow. We include mixed households within the Native category, on the assumption that residents of such households are more permanent and have more participation in the life of the community. Our sample was 10 percent mixed households, which compares with 13 percent mixed in the total number of Barrow households.

Our sample probably had a higher proportion of individuals active in subsistence activities than the community as a whole. This means our extended families had a larger proportion of active hunters than the average for all Native families in the community. This is primarily the result of an overrepresentation of whaling captains in our sample: 15 percent of the sample households included whaling captains, compared to six percent for all Native households.

On the other hand, if we compare the sample to the community for ownership of fixed hunting and fishing camps, the sample proportion is equivalent to the percentage in the community: 12.5 percent have fixed camps. If we calculate the number of extended households that are closely linked to the camp owners, based on an average network size of 3.5 households, the proportion of Native households with camps in their extended family networks is 56 percent of all Iñupiat households. Three of the five extended networks we observed are in this group.

The average number of employed persons per household in the sample is one, which is equivalent to the average for Native households in the town. However, 80 percent of Barrow's unemployed is Native; this average is low in comparison to all households. The mean number of employed individuals in all Barrow households is 1.5. Since we selected for Native households, the sample is adequately representative on this characteristic. Twenty percent of the sample households had no employment among their residents. This proportion of unemployment corresponds closely with that for all Native households in Barrow (21.5 percent).

There were marked differences in the annual incomes among the sample households. Three of the households, or 15 percent, reported an income close to $10,000 for the year, and four households (20 percent) had incomes of more than $65,000. This degree of income differentiation among Barrow households is typical, under current economic conditions, but we hesitate to claim that the sample represents all income levels. The size of the sample is not adequate for stating the distribution of household incomes among all Native households with confidence. We suspect that some levels of middle range incomes are underrepresented.

Although the sample is purposive, that is, we selected households on a number of stated criteria, we have no evidence that it is idiosyncratic to a noticeable degree. The sample has characteristics similar to households in the town in several key areas as described above. To provide a further validity check of our confidence in the sample, we performed a statistical comparison (t-test) using the data base we compiled to check our sample against other households in Barrow.[2] The statistical measures we made that compared the sample with the universe of Barrow households demonstrated that the sample was not significantly different. Nor did it differ significantly in another test from a randomly generated sample of 20 households.

Endnotes

1. The data coding, entry, and editing procedures used in the development of the Barrow data bases include data entry and verification per se, as well as the file management procedures used to create separate data bases and then combine them into a single data base representing the Barrow population at three points in time (1978, 1980, and 1985).

Variable definitions were finalized in late January, at which time dBase III data entry routines were written to facilitate rapid and automatic entry and file management of 1978 and 1980 census data from the keyboard. The dBase routines permitted some limited error trapping during data entry, since out-of-range entries were rejected by the routines and the user was prompted for an in-range entry upon rejection.

The dBase file comprised only 1978 and 1980 data, which were entered from raw hard copies of census materials. The 1978-1980 data base file was complete by February 6th aside from editing. Data base listings organized by name, household ID, and other variables were generated in order to allow us to review the data base for misspellings, out-of-sequence records, and other obvious errors that could be detected visually.

Visual checks for conspicuous errors that could be detected on the basis of internal evidence (i.e., household sizes or ages of household heads which were zero or abnormally high values, etc.) were carried out on a nearly continuous basis until mid-February. In mid-February the dBase file was converted to a file that could be read by the SPSS/PC system using the dBase SDF protocol, and provisional descriptive and frequency summaries of the file were generated in order to continue this review process.

The 1985 Barrow census in the SAS format was available to the team on February 21st. The ASCII version of the file we obtained was read and reviewed during the first week of March, reformatted and saved, and prepared for integration with the 1978-1980 data base during the second week of March. The 1985 data base was an individual-level file (i.e., each logical record was a person), hence it first had to be collapsed so as to yield a household-level file which would be compatible with the 1978-1980 data. Individual-level data were furthermore unsuitable for the forms of analysis demanded by study design.

This process required several stages of recoding, development of new aggregated variables to represent household characteristics calculated from individual-level values, and Boolean manipulations using IF, THEN, ELSE expressions in order to produce a coherent 1985 household record that corresponded to the 1978-1980 data, but which nonetheless originated from individual-level data. The basic SPSS procedure in this case is AGGREGATE, which collapses a file and creates new values based on numerous prior values. The resulting file was combined with the 1978-1980 data base using the SPSS JOIN MATCH procedure, which locked the two files together using household ID as a common denominator. The first combined file was prepared on March 9, and numerous subsequent versions of the file were prepared as the data were edited.

Between March 9 and April 1 a substantial body of new information was collected in order to improve the data file. Although the original data file contained data that indicated the years in which households were present, it was impossible to distinguish between (for instance) deaths and outmigration since the evidence for each was simple absence, or between immigration and the creation of new households from within the community through natural means (i.e., young adults beginning new households). Furthermore, it was apparent that there were some gaps in the data bases that could be remedied. For example, some households lacked ethnicity data in the source materials, and it seemed feasible to fill such a gap by contacting informants who knew or now know these households in order to collect the relevant information.

Chilkat staff addressed these weaknesses in two ways: (1) by reviewing household composition in the original source materials in order to identify family members who later appear as new heads of household; and (2) interviewing informants in order to collect information on deaths, ethnicity, and in some cases migration. Since the key informant approach runs the risk of contaminating the data due to informant mis-recall, reactive effects, and so on, the informant approach was conducted twice using two independent groups of informants.

These data were entered in successive stages as the data base as a whole was progressively edited between April 1 and April 8. Final minor revisions to the data base were carried out on April 11, April 25, and April 29. A total of 39 separate data files were created, edited, and combined during the course of the project. The editing process was thus fairly comprehensive and, we are confident that serious flaws have been eliminated from the data base. Since source data flaws are completely uncontrollable, it is possible that some deficiencies of which we are unaware may still remain that might infirm some of the results reported here. However, we believe that our internal editing procedures eliminated the majority of errors that are detectable.

2. Although our sample is purposive, and hence is not normal in a statistical sense, we used this method (which requires a normal distribution) to indicate to us if any gross differences were evident across the variables. The results suggest there are not.

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CHAPTER TWO

COMMUNITY HISTORY

The Early Period: Change and Continuity

> Barrow has really changed, Barrow doesn't look at all like it used to. . . . Barrow was clean. It was really nice. But now that I can look back many years, now that I'm old, Barrow looks different. . . . This land, Barrow, has changed much since I have seen it. In those days it was a happy place. It is very different now."
>
> Joe Sikvayugak
> August 25, 1981

This sentiment, expressed by an elder during one of the interviews for the Utqiagvik Ethnohistory project (Libbey 1984:367-371), is repeated by many others. Such early childhood memories and various records of the period prior to the 1940s describe a community quite different than modern Barrow.

The contrast is startling. The transition has not been easy. Some older Barrowites lived in sod houses and endured periods when "people get thin from hunger." They utilized the services of shamans along with Western medical doctors, and they knew people who had come under the power of shamans. They talk of a time when jobs were scarce and Barrow was free of alcohol and drug problems.

Younger people have experienced significant economic and physical changes as well, but perhaps less dramatic than those witnessed by older residents. Those over the age of forty experienced the changes from dogsleds to snowmobiles, from heating homes with blubber to natural gas, and from wearing caribou clothing to denim and polyester. Some witnessed the abandonment of customary practices, such as the "swapping relationships" and the burial of personal property with the dead. In spite of extensive changes, however, most adults participate in many of the same social and cultural activities they did as children. Traditional adoptions, naming patterns, and ceremonial feasts are a part of the everyday modern Iñupiat life as are racquetball and rock bands. Many adults experienced these changes and now lead multimillion dollar corporations or represent governmental entities as well as fulfilling their roles as umialit and hunters. Their horizons have expanded from the Arctic to Antarctica, Hawaii, and Washington, D.C. Even many elders, whose farthest trip in the past was to an inland camp, have traveled to Greenland, the East Coast, and Seattle.

Barrow and Browerville, as described in the childhood days of the adults we interviewed, was a small village. An individual in his mid-fifties reported that "When I was growing, there was only 12 homes on Browerville," which he called Igluparuk (Little House). Another individual in his forties could name all the families who lived in the "dozen houses there on the Browerville side." Most residents lived in the area that is now called Barrow.

Dr. Otto George arrived in Barrow in 1937 and served as a physician for the Department of Interior's Indian Service. He kept a diary of his observations and experiences. His work describes a community before the radical changes which began in the mid-1940s. He estimated the town's population to be 300, the total Iñupiat population from Point Hope to the Canadian border to be 1,700, and the white population at 25. Barrow's white population numbered 11 and included three families. There was the trader, Charles Brower, a radio operator, missionaries, teachers, a doctor, and nurses. Another eight whites lived in the area east of Barrow to the Canadian border, and six more lived between Barrow and Point Hope (George 1979:128).

Many of those we interviewed vividly remembered their first encounters with taniks (white people) and their attitudes or relationships with them. White people had been periodically present on the North Slope, at such times as the commercial whaling era, however, few remained. Iñupiat living in the outlying areas rarely had the opportunity to interact with whites. "I saw my first tanik when we were at Barter Island, came by plane, don't know what they are--maybe Russian. We got tanik at Tupagaruk, he was a tanik Russian, I believe. I got along with them when I was young." Dr. George (1979) gives an account about the arrival of Russian explorers in late August, 1937, which could have been the Russians to whom this individual referred.

Relationships with whites were not always pleasant. One elder recalls her fear of whites,

> I was always scared of taniks when I was a little girl. My mother always told me about long time ago when it

> was foggy, when the boat come. A little boy tried to hunt little birds on the beach. They took that boy on the boat, take him to the outside, steal that boy.

It was an apprehension that she apparently carried with her through the years, "I was very scared of taniks . . . When the boat [Bureau of Indian Affair's (BIA) annual supply ship] come, I always remembered that."

Barrow's growth partly resulted from the movement of Iñupiat from Nuvuk (the settlement at the site of Point Barrow) and Pigniq (referred to as Birnirk in earlier archaeological works and now commonly called the Shooting Station). The elders differ in opinion as to whether Barrow was originally a permanent settlement or was just a place to hunt owls. They are in agreement that Barrow was originally called Ukpiagvik (place to hunt snowy owls), which gradually evolved into the name "Utqiagvik."

The elders also generally agree that Barrow began to grow with the arrival of whalers. They cite other changes which began about that time as well--in their material culture, physical and mental health, and in the composition of the population. As one stated, "When the whaling boats started coming . . . . their boats were shipwrecked, they joined the Eskimos, made children that were part white." They also attribute the growth of Barrow to the establishment of Western facilities, such as the school and church, which attracted people from the outlying area.

Many adults actually participated in the move from Nuvuk to Barrow. Waldo Bodfish of Wainwright, who worked on the 1940 census, recalled that 15 families were living at Nuvuk at that time, but there were also many empty houses then. An elder recorded by Libbey (1984:6) reported:

> And right before my eyes, after I had grown up, all the people left the point and then moved here to Utqiagvik after the school was built, and also after the church was built here.

One individual informed us with obvious pride that his family was one of the last to leave Nuvuk to move into Barrow during the early 1940s.

Other Iñupiat people migrated to Barrow from adjacent coastal and southern communities and also from outlying camps. A man in his early fifties gave a brief account of his family's migration from the east to Barrow. Three households, including his adopted parents, his two uncles and their wives and children and a third family, began the trek from a camp 20 miles east of Barter Island. They stayed at Kaktovik for a while and then overwintered at the Colville River. He was uncertain about his exact age when they started their eastward journey, but recalls that he "was strong enough to cut willow for firewood." They fished, hunted caribou, and had common meals in the largest dwelling they had constructed. He remembers that his clothing included sealskin pants and caribou boots, parka, and mittens. They finally arrived in Barrow after nearly two years. They had intended to move on to Kotzebue to join his adopted mother's brother, but the wife of one of his uncles wanted to stay in Barrow. He noted that his "adopted father didn't know about ocean hunting," and his family and his uncles moved to Chip

River. They joined three other families already living there. They overwintered and returned to Barrow the following summer after his father died.[1]

Movement in and out of Barrow was quite common both for prolonged periods and shorter visits. Visiting relatives in other villages is a traditional practice that today has become regular through participation in formal institutions. One elder described this practice as pirugaaq during an interview in the Utqiagvik Ethnohistory project (Libbey 1984:367):

> Visitors come to Barrow from all over. They came by dog sleds in the winter. People from Nuvuk and people from Barrow traveled to Point Hope in the winter. People define pirugaaq as the people who go to Point Hope, these people that go to visit their relatives in the winter.

He indicated the reason the people went to visit: "They had to obey the law [customary unwritten laws], so they had to go over there . . . They didn't have jobs in those days." The elder talked about his stepfather who would go to Point Hope "when the sun comes out, when the day gets longer." His stepfather was considered a member of the community since he had brothers and sisters in Point Hope. The elder noted that his stepfather's brothers and sisters in Point Hope had "been acquired through parents' swapping relationship." He met his stepfather's brothers and sisters when he visited Point Hope.

Many Iñupiat families now considered permanent residents in Barrow continued a nomadic life-style up until the early 1940s. One woman described in detail her family's movement between the coast and inland areas (Libbey 1984). The harvesting activities conducted by her family indicate that the distinction between inland and coastal people was not as precise as that defined by Spencer (1976). In 1922 her parents, four brothers, and sister were living at Kanigluk, a site in the present Prudhoe Bay petroleum complex. They built a house near Flaxman Island where they stayed for a few years. They also spent one winter on the Saaviovik River near the mountains and then returned to Prudhoe Bay where they remained until 1934. Few people were living in the area at that time, and her father wanted to move to where more people were living. They moved to the Colville River area near Umiat and later to Putu, which is close to the present-day community of Nuiqsut. They moved into Barrow and then to Cross Island, where they built a cabin.

During this period they followed a cyclical round which involved winter hunting for polar bear and bearded seal on the coast. Later they would go up river to fish and hunt caribou. Her father and brothers also went to the mountains to hunt sheep. They trapped from October to April. The family lived in a fixed camp, and her father and brothers would leave to hunt and trap. They often would be gone for more than a week traveling by dog team. In April they returned to the coast to hunt seals and bearded seal and fish for salmon. In summer they traded their furs at the coast with C.T. Pederson, who traveled and traded with other Iñupiat along the coast to Canada. Fall was devoted to ocean hunting including whaling. Her father took at least two whales. She finally established permanent residency in Barrow in

1947. She moved to Nuiqsut in 1973 but continues to move between Barrow and Nuiqsut.

Dr. Otto George recorded the presence of shamans still active less than fifty years ago. He indicated that both the old and young continued to patronize the shaman and described an incident in which both he and the shaman had been summoned on the same case:

> One day I was called to visit a woman suffering with chest pains. She lived in an igloo with board walls surrounded by snow blocks and covered with snow. She lay on a reindeer skin and was covered by another, but was completely without clothing. Several persons sat around; one of these I knew to be the medicine man . . . she explained she suffered as the result of a large blood vessel in her stomach crossing over a smaller vessel, and the medicine man had been correcting this. I listened patiently to her explanation of his medicine-making; then after examining her and finding she suffered from pleurisy, gave her medicine to relieve the pain. It was his word against mine and I had little doubt as to whom she would believe, regardless of the outcome of her illness (George 1979:146)

Shamanistic practices have ended, but references made during the interviews for Utqiagvik Ethnohistory Project (Libbey 1984) and throughout our interviews suggest that elements of shamanism may persist. One North Slope village is believed by many Iñupiat to be inhabited by "shamanistic people." One elder reported that his stepfather was a shaman, but he had never witnessed a shaman performing; however, he said that he had "seen people that change while dancing, people that are brought up by spirits." He used the Iñupiaq word qila,--conjuring spirit. He listed a number of people he knew who had come under the influence of a shaman's power and could not stop dancing, which he called qilanikkaq. He noted that "people sing songs that make people change." This belief is cited by Iñupiat of the Assembly of God faith as the basis for their opposition to Iñupiat dancing. Another individual indicated that if "a person does not have evil in him, the shaman has no control over his body."

An Iñupiaq in his late twenties is believed to have been raised by a female shaman. She was sent to the Public Health Hospital in Seattle because "she could not be controlled." According to one account the woman would go out for weeks, "she would walk out into tundra, they would see her footsteps turn into grizzly bear tracks, she was sent to an asylum." Another young Iñupiaq wanted to learn how to become a shaman, but he was advised by an elder that it was impossible. The elder told him that because he had been baptized, he would not be able to become a shaman since the Christian spirit was stronger than that of the shamans.

Some traditional healing practices apparently have survived. Three women, who are referred to as "saptaqti" on the North Slope, continue to practice saptaq, or massage, which "can cure most anything." This practice became widely known in Alaska through the work of Della Keats of Kotzebue, who received much publicity during the early 1980s. Her abilities were ultimately accepted by Western health practitioners and educators. One of the saptaqti, who is in her mid-forties, originates from Barrow but now lives in another village. The second saptaqti, who is in her early thirties and lives in Barrow, is believed to possess the traditional healing skills, but she does not actively practice saptaq. The third saptaqti, the oldest of the three, frequents Barrow on a regular basis and is kept quite busy during the entire time she is in town. In addition to saptaq, she practices a form of acupuncture. One of the researchers in this project was referred to her for a medical problem which reportedly she could have treated with acupuncture. The Iñupiat firmly believe that the women can diagnose and cure medical problems which range from headaches to internal ailments. According to the Iñupiat, they can even determine the sex of an unborn baby.

The landscape of Barrow, the settlement patterns and the houses prior to the 1940s were quite different than they are now. The houses were smaller and dispersed without any clear pattern. Several larger buildings were present in the early 1940s and only a few trails cut through the tundra within the settlement.

The description of Barrow by Dr. George during the late 1930s portrays two small interconnected settlements. Residential buildings were small and usually were surrounded by five to twenty dogs. Larger buildings included Charles Brower's trading post and its warehouse; the schoolhouse; the Presbyterian church complex with the missionary's residence and warehouse; the radio building; and the doctor's quarters, which were quite spacious in contrast to the Iñupiat's small houses. The hospital had burned just prior to Dr. George's arrival. The Native store was also one of the larger buildings in the village.[2] Wooden whaling boats, umiat, and kayaks were stored on racks lining the beachfront. Trails led out to the sea ice. Refuse from the village was carted out to the sea ice to be carried away during spring breakup. The village was clean except for the smoke and soot from stovepipes which settled on the snow around the dwellings. During summer the village was surrounded with small white, purple, and yellow flowers sprinkled through the green grass. At this time of the year villagers moved into the white tents which appeared in large numbers on the sandbars. Dr. George reported that every family had one or two tents.

Some of the eldest Iñupiat in Barrow recalled living in houses which were partially constructed underground. Entry to these houses, which always faced the south (to avoid the prevailing northwind), was through a tunnel and the floor (katak). The family slept on a sleeping platform (igliq), which extended the entire width of the house. In the early 1900s these houses were gradually replaced by wood frame houses constructed on the surface of the ground. Some were built of wood salvaged from shipwrecks and then insulated with sod or ice blocks. Windows were covered by seal gut. One individual stated that after "the navy come to Barrow [1940], I started hauling materials from the dump and built my own house." At that time one "could build anyplace you want to build, no lots at that time."

Dr. George (1979:123) describes the interior of one of these small houses:

> I accepted the natives' invitation to the house and stepped down until I was in the storm entrance . . .

> Much gear stacked there in the storm shed. Another door permitted us to enter the small, dark room, and it was a few minutes before I could see all of it . . . The furnishings were scant. On the left was a small, tin stove . . . To the right was a dead seal, lying on it back with the head toward the door . . . Across the back of the room and halfway to the top was shelf about four feet wide. Beneath the shelf, were reinforced deer skins. In these the children played and in some there were adults sleeping. Those sleeping were entirely undressed, yet seemed to be warm to the extent that some were perspiring. An alarm clock was hanging on one wall, a hot water bottle on the opposite, and beside the stove was a well-worn box, the size of an apple box, which completed the room's furnishings.

Many adults grew up in houses that were heated with whale, walrus, bearded seal, and seal blubber. Driftwood was used when it was available. For several years during the early 1900s, oil-soaked earth dug from blubber storage areas was used as fuel (Libbey 1984:107). Much of this source disappeared as the coast along where the homes were formerly located eroded. Dirt with oil or hardened petroleum, called "pitch," was also gathered and used as fuel. It formed from oil seeps at Beechey Point and Cape Simpson. In the 1930s the Native store hired community residents to haul the pitch. As many as 600 sacks were hauled by boat each summer and sold to people who had money. Blubber and pitch were the primary source of fuel well into the 1940s. A commercial coal operation started in the early 1940s, but only those with jobs could purchase the coal. Others continued using sea mammal oil.

The individual described earlier, who had migrated from a camp east of Kaktovik, arrived in Barrow approximately forty years ago. When asked to describe Barrow at that time, he responded "No radio, camera, recorder, CB, TV. No English spoken." Dr. George (1979) who arrived shortly after, noted that fur and skin clothing and kammiks (boots) were standard for men, women, and children. He and his wife were immediately outfitted with Native clothing upon their arrival.[3] He also found that the diet of the Iñupiat largely consisted of subsistence foods, which was also to be his diet. His food supply had been lost when the hospital burned a short time before his arrival. He found commercial food to be in short supply in the village, but he was able to obtain sugar, coffee, and milk from Charles Brower's store. He was also introduced to the Iñupiat's pattern of sharing, "the natives brought us many geese and reindeer for our ice cellar, and we knew we would not starve."

Dr. George reported that the missionaries had been successful in converting the Iñupiat to Christianity and suppressing their traditional beliefs. He also indicated that only the older people knew the Inupiat dances, and old Native dance houses had been done away with. Most of the Barrow men spoke excellent English. Communication with the outside was limited to the annual supply ship, three mail deliveries (limited to 200 pounds of first-class mail for Barrow and points eastward to Canada) which arrived by dogsled, and radio transmission to Juneau operated by the Army Alaska Communication System (ACS).

The two most prominent organizations within the community were the Church Deacons and the Mothers Club. The missionaries and teachers introduced these two organizations, but the membership was entirely Iñupiat. One Iñupiaq remarked to us, "To date, there has never been a tanik deacon." Their basic responsibilities centered on the welfare of the community members. They were also engaged in a form of social control to insure that community members adhered to new precepts introduced by two new institutions, the church and the school. The Mothers Club also instituted curfews for children to make sure that they would have enough sleep to attend school and church. One perceptive elder assessed how the deacons' assumed responsibilities affected the families and their relationships:

> Previously there had been a mutual responsibility for the people to take care of each other. When that responsibility was given to the deacon, there was a slack. Sometimes the deacon wouldn't carry out the cooperative responsibilities.

He believed that it was a source of change from the past "because there had always been a general feeling to help those particular families living together or within the settlement." In his view, responsibility for family members was beginning to shift from the extended family members to the deacons.

Wage employment was quite limited until the mid-1940s. Dr. George lists only three permanent, full-time jobs in Barrow--the janitor for the hospital and the clerks at Brower's trading store and the Native store. Other employment opportunities for the Barrow Iñupiat were as reindeer herders, a teacher's position, nurses' aide, observers for the U.S. Weather Bureau, and another janitor for ACS. Temporary jobs were also available to unload the North Star (the annual supply ship), to gather and haul coal and pitch from the inland areas and eastern sites. Occasionally, Iñupiat were hired as guides for sports hunters. Income or Western goods could also be obtained through trapping and the sale of arts and craft production. During this period Dr. George (1979:130) reported that employees were paid in goods rather than in cash:

> Barrow natives had not money (they had never seen or used it) and only barter was known. We gave them a scribbled note on a slip of paper and they gave it to the trader in lieu of money, then once or twice a year we settled our account with the trader, redeeming the slips of paper given him by the natives.

The description offered by Dr. George (1979), Sonnenfeld's work (1957), recollections recorded in the Utqiagvik Ethnohistory Project (Libbey 1984), and our interviews indicate that change from the period of contact until the early 1940s was gradual. The Western economic, educational, religious, legal, and medical systems were introduced into Barrow, but until the 1940s, these systems were each represented in Barrow by only one to three whites. Perhaps the most significant change occurred in the religious system. Christianity was introduced and adopted by almost all Iñupiat, replacing many of the traditional ideologies. The belief system surrounding shamanism eroded, and the men's qargi disappeared. Changes in the economic system were associated with the commercialization of wildlife production which allowed the Iñupiat to continue activities with which they were already familiar, i.e., whaling, reindeer herding, trapping, and producing arts and crafts from the harvested wildlife resources. The income or trade goods earned from these activities as well as the few jobs which were available allowed the Iñupiat to add to their material culture and to their food sources. Associated with the introduction of the church and school was the organization of the Church Deacons and Mothers Club. The judicial system was represented in the village through Charles Brower who served as a U.S. Commissioner as well as the trader and post master.

The Recent Period: Accelerated Change

The establishment of the Naval Petroleum Reserve Number 4 (PET-4, now referred to as National Petroleum Reserve-Alaska, NPR-A), and the construction and exploration activities which began in 1944, set the stage for dramatic and accelerated changes which in many ways surpassed that of the previous hundred years. Expanding employment opportunities were made available to a large number of northern Iñupiat in 1946. Initially, the Seabees assumed operations, but two years later the navy retained Arctic Contractors (ARCON) to conduct the oil exploration work. The navy had intended to utilize imported laborers, but in response to political pressure, they began to use Iñupiat laborers.

The most immediate and apparent change was the increase in employment opportunities for men. Sonnenfeld (1957) reported that more than 200 Iñupiat were employed with ARCON during its seven years of operation. Within a few short years, the Iñupiat population in Barrow more than tripled. A number of Iñupiat utilized their previous business knowledge (acquired through the

Native-owned store) and opened their own private businesses. The availability of increased cash in the community was enough to support several new business. By 1951 five stores, two theaters, a dance hall, and a beauty shop opened (Sonnenfeld 1957:504).

The landscape of Barrow also began to change. Between 1947 and 1953 the Alaska Native Service (ANS) initiated a housing program with support from the navy to provide 100 new frame houses in Barrow. The Iñupiat could purchase the material for the new houses for $2,000, which had to be paid in advance. In most cases the houses replaced the shacks built from wood which had been scavenged from packing crates and other lumber which had been discarded by the navy (ibid.:499).

Barrow began to resemble a city. Roads and an airport were constructed. A sanitation program was adopted, and refuse was collected on a regular basis. In 1946 generators were introduced to Barrow to supply electricity. In 1957 gas was discovered just outside Barrow. It was piped into the naval camp and to the federal buildings in Barrow but not into the residential units occupied by the Iñupiat. The Iñupiat repeatedly petitioned the government to extend the gas lines into their homes, but it wasn't until the mid-1960s that the homes were finally hooked up. One elder reported (Libbey 1984:114) that they were successful only after the

> . . . better young people who had gone out to school and who are more educated and who had been in the Second World War serving, when they came back they fought for us to get the gas which was already here, to pipe it into the homes so that we too can use this cheaper way for heating our homes and cooking.

The adults uniformly agree that life became much easier after they got gas. One adult said, "Children born after the gas was hooked up don't know anything about hard living; I think they never believe me when I told them we had a hard time when we were kids." Another individual suggested that none of his grandchildren has any "idea what it was like in those days, there's fires in their home. Don't even have to fuel up."

Barrow Iñupiat began to modernize in other ways as well. The outboard motor made its appearance during this period. Occasionally, hunters chartered planes to their hunting camps. Western clothing was also increasingly added to the Iñupiat wardrobe. Sonnenfeld (1957:504) reported that the number of mail orders had increased significantly. In 1942 he found that the number of money orders purchased at the post office filled a page and a half of entries. In 1949 the listing required 55 pages. In the year 1952-1953 mail orders totaled approximately $130,000.

People generally agree that life became easier with the availability of increased wage income. The purchasing power of the Iñupiat increased with the incidence of high-paying jobs. One woman recalled that the first item her husband purchased was a washing machine. One individual, who agreed that the physical changes made life easier, also felt that cooperative relationships were weakening, and he noted a move towards individualism:

> When construction began on the NARL [Naval Arctic Research Laboratory], there was a very definite change in the attitude of the people due to the introduction of employment to the community. You could really see a change in the cooperative sharing. Right after employment was introduced, everyone sort of abandoned

> the fur trading as a mean of bartering for making ends meet. When everyone got jobs, things became easier. People began building wood frame homes, build some boats, outboard motors. As things got a little easier, people started to stick to themselves around their immediate families since everyone was now in a position of self-reliance. So, at that time, it became a little easier for everyone to look after themselves.

Alcohol was introduced in Barrow during the commercial whaling period, and some of the Iñupiat learned to make home brew. There were periodic problems which were attributed to excessive alcohol consumption, but overall alcohol was not a major problem prior to the mid-1940s. Charles Brower took great pride in the fact that as a U.S. Commissioner he was able to prohibit the use of alcohol in Barrow. He personally destroyed all stills constructed by both whites and the Iñupiat (George 1979:125). However, drinking became a problem for a number of families after employment opportunities developed with the naval construction and ARCON activities in the mid-1940s. One individual described its reintroduction into Barrow:

> And then talk about the change. You know, we never have any problems. Matter of fact, during the naval exploration, up to that time, there was no liquor in Barrow, up until late 1940s. Everybody picked up employment, that's when people started picking up beer from the base, you know. No hard liquor, but they had what they call a PX, that they sell beer and liquors to them employees . . . Liquor was the first thing that a lot of us didn't appreciate that came here.

Also, child neglect and abuse appeared for the first time as a social problem during this period, resulting from parents who drank to excess. The problems were not always reported officially since most often other family members assumed the care of the children if their parents neglected them. It was not until the early 1970s that one of the resident nurses reported the first child neglect case in Barrow. The parents had been drinking and the child, who was near starvation, was brought into the hospital.[4]

Employment with ARCON ended in 1953. The two most immediate effects were a reintensification of hunting and fishing activities and an outmigration. Sonnenfeld (1957:506) reported that 18 families totaling 78 people left Barrow to seek employment in other areas. Many of these families returned to Barrow after a short period in the city. One individual provides insight into his family's move to Fairbanks and the new world to which he was exposed:

> The few of those that had left Barrow went to Fairbanks for that railroad, Alaska Railroad job up there. It must have been about six families that were up there. And they lived in a small Eskimo village right next to the railroad yard, 12 x 12 houses, six or eight of them . . . It was unusual, it was strange, it was different. First time I've seen a car, trees, building that big and stores that had everything you could think of. Lot of candy, real cheap. It was exciting to a certain extent. And later on when my father's financial resources got low, and we had a little problem. He couldn't just go out and hunt and get food . . . So that was kind of strange for us. So I think that he drank a bit . . . he was frustrated not being able to provide like he usually does. I remember ever since I was growing up, he'd always been a good provider, even when he worked. Had weekends, he'd just take off out on the ice and get something. He was always going out.

His family and several others returned to Barrow, and his father immediately went out hunting and fishing.

Another person reported that her family also returned to Barrow but went back to Fairbanks after a year. They, like many other families, were able to maintain family relationships with those who remained in Barrow even after they left the village. The urban-based Iñupiat also provided a place for the villagers to stay when they went to Fairbanks, which assisted in establishing contact and familiarity with the outside world. Her parents continued to send her back to Barrow each summer. "That's how I got to know all my relatives and the culture. I would stay with all my relatives, uncles and aunts here and there . . . then when our relatives would come from here [Barrow] or anywhere from the villages in the North Slope, when they would come through Fairbanks, they would come to mom's so I got to know my relatives that way also." Her family continues to maintain a residence in Barrow. She grew up eating Native food through the sharing patterns that continued after her family's urban migration. Her relatives sent Native food to them and brought it with them when they visit Fairbanks.

In spite of the fact that very little employment was available in Barrow, more than a thousand Iñupiat chose to remain in the community. Most of the men returned to hunting and trapping and heating their homes with blubber. Contact with the outside world intensified during this period. Teenage children and men were the two groups which began to travel and stay outside of Barrow for prolonged periods. As described above, students attended the BIA boarding school in Mt. Edgecumbe in southeast Alaska, since a local high school was not available. According to one individual, more than a hundred students from Barrow were attending Mt. Edgecumbe in the early 1950s. A few went to missionary schools or public school in Fairbanks. Although most were able to return to Barrow during the summer, their absence and exposure to the outside world had profound implications for the Iñupiat society.

The biographical sketches we obtained of those Iñupiat who left Barrow to attend high school reveal a dramatic difference from their parents' life-style. Assimilation into the Western culture hastened as they became more educated. An unknown number did not return to Barrow. Some married Natives from other regions who were also attending the BIA school. The pan-Nativism movement had its beginning through the prolonged contacts which occurred during the boarding school years. These contacts would prove to beneficial in the move to unify Alaska Natives to pursue a statewide land claims settlement during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

A number of men joined the military service during this period, but the most significant impact would result from the formation of the national guard during the mid-1940s. The guard had evolved from the Alaska Territorial Guard, popularly referred to as the "Tundra Army" during World War II. The national guard became an important institution in Barrow. The local national guard armory resembled the qargi in many ways. The men had a place where they could once again meet on a regular basis as they did in the qargi. In addition to the normal guard business, they also discussed local affairs. One Iñupiat officer felt that the guard provided the forum for leadership to emerge. The guard members participated in a variety of training courses, and many were able to transfer these skills to obtain employment when the NSB organized. Many of the sergeants would serve as the NSB village coordinators. In addition, participation in the national guard insured a small and steady source of income which was important during downturns in the village economy. Relationships with guard members from other areas developed during the annual two-week training period when members from across the state would meet. These contacts would also be helpful in unifying Alaska Natives during the land claims era. The full impact of the national guard on the Iñupiat has yet to be analyzed, but the data currently available suggest that it was particularly significant in the NSB.

The Iñupiat were leaving Barrow to attend school or military training, and some were also seeking employment elsewhere. In addition, non-Iñupiat were migrating to Barrow. A number of those who came during the ARCON period and later for the DEW-Line construction remained in Barrow and married Iñupiat women. The airline service enabled greater numbers of non-Iñupiat people to visit Barrow. Wien began to serve Barrow after the naval air field was constructed in 1944. Several years later a hotel was built and the first tourists arrived. In 1954 nearly 300 tourists visited Barrow. In the following year a thousand advance reservations were made. Sport hunters were also beginning to visit the Arctic.

One significant change during this period was the institutional development of the village council. The community also became politically linked to the state government with the election of two representatives from Barrow, first to the territorial legislature and then to the state legislature.

Barrow residents organized a tribal government in 1939 after the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 (IRA) was amended to extend to Alaska in 1936. One of their first orders of business was land. The council pursued the establishment of a reservation. A report, initiated in 1943 presumably by the Department of the Interior, recommended that the Barrow Iñupiat required 750 square miles for their reservation. Public hearings in Barrow and Fairbanks in October 1946 indicated that 30,000 square miles would be needed for the Barrow Iñupiat. The area encompassed the region from as far west as Peard Bay, east to Demarcation Point, south to the foothills of the Brooks Range and the offshore areas to a distance of 40 to 50 miles. Several recommendations were made in the hearing, including land withdrawals empowering the village council to regulate trade and restrict liquor, and establishment of a game reserve and a coal mine for the exclusive use of the Iñupiat. Sonnenfeld (1957:522) reported that the underlying concerns were "protecting the villagers against the possible activity and influence of the 'white man,' in such [areas] as liquor and the encouragement of immoralities." They were specifically concerned about the civilians working for

ARCON, the tourists who were expected to be arriving in larger numbers, and trappers flying into Iñupiat-occupied areas.

In 1947 the village council offered two proposals. The first was to establish a village reservation including an area around Barrow to roughly 15 miles inland and 10 miles offshore. The council also proposed that their trapping, hunting, and fishing area from Peard Bay to Demarcation Point be placed in a game reserve. Access would be based on residency. Under this proposal the Barrow council would not give up all their claims to other land since the land they traditionally owned and occupied was much more extensive. In 1949 the Secretary of Interior created a 750-square-mile reservation for Barrow. The reservation which had to be approved by the Barrow Iñupiat was overwhelmingly rejected because it did not contain their major inland fishing, trapping, and hunting grounds. Acceptance of the reservation would also mean that they would have to surrender their claims to land outside of the reservation.

The IRA village council was never dissolved, but it became inactive after Barrow was incorporated as a fourth-class city in 1958 under the jurisdiction of the Territory of Alaska. The new council was again reorganized as a third-class city after statehood in 1959. Although the jurisdictional authority of the acting local council transferred from the federal government to the territory to the state, the governing officials, membership, and orientation of the local governing body remained the same.

The Native Townsite of Barrow was established in the early 1960s. The townsite was surveyed in 1963 and placed under the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) Townsite Trustee (Smythe and Worl 1985:217). This action was to lead to greater changes beyond the physical displacement of families. More profound was the change in the Iñupiat's orientation to land ownership and individualization of land. Prior to this period, the Iñupiat were free to construct or move their houses around as they desired. More often they settled near kin. After the town was surveyed, the traditional settlement pattern was disrupted. Families were required to move their houses into surveyed lots along the newly created streets and blocks. Individuals were encouraged to apply for title to their residential lots.

Other organizations were established during the 1960s. The Barrow Health Board was organized in 1968. Its priority was the establishment of water and sewer systems. It developed plans but never the facilities themselves. The Barrow Improvement Board was organized by a group of young men who were among the first to graduate from high school and return to Barrow.

> The idea was to try to improve the conditions here in Barrow. The guys that I went to school with [he states four names], that group. We felt that BIA was, you know, wasn't giving us enough opportunities to develop our community, meaning the medical services or social services. We had them, you know, we found out that we could get a lot more than that. Get some economic development.

This same group also formed a branch of the Fairbanks Junior Chamber of Commerce in Barrow, which "led us to becoming a more civic group, civic-minded." The group would sit around and talk after playing basketball, "you know, sit around and talk, cooling off, cause there was no showers, when we did always run out of water."

Discussions among these young, educated men who returned to Barrow led to the assertion of land rights. Etok (Charlie Edwardsen, Jr.) emerged as a leader, championing the land claims of the Iñupiat. He began writing letters to all the villages, urging them to organize to resolve the land claims issue. Their first meeting was held at Barrow on January 15, 1966, and the agenda was settlement of their land rights. More than a hundred Iñupiat from the North Slope villages met. The Arctic Slope Native Association (ASNA) was then organized to pursue the settlement of aboriginal land claims.

The birth of the first regional organization occurred in 1961 with the formation of Iñupiat Paitot (People's Heritage). This organization would provide the initial link to a statewide organization which included the Athabaskan and the Tlingit and Haida Indians. Village leaders from the northwestern area met to discuss aboriginal land and hunting rights and economic and social development. The meeting had been stimulated by the arrest of Iñupiat hunters who had taken ducks out of season.[5] The arrest had led to the famous "Duck-In" incident in which a hundred hunters brought their ducks and demanded to be arrested as well. The case was dropped, but the issue of hunting rights had been raised in the minds of the Iñupiat. A second meeting was held the following year in which land rights was again a priority issue.

In spite of these extensive changes during this period, Sonnenfeld's work (1957:517) indicates a stability as well. He summarized his assessment of the changes which had occurred in subsistence hunting after the ARCON construction period:

> Viewed in its entirety, the change that has taken place appears meager when compared with that which has been retained as an active part of Eskimo subsistence. The additions appear more numerous than the deletions, but substitutions more common than both.

His discussions reveal a socioeconomic adaptation as a consequence of the Iñupiat's participation in the wage economy. This was evident in the development of a relationship between a wage earner and a hunter that was mutually beneficial. As we will note in later discussion of extended families, this relationship, while maximizing economic endeavors of both kinds, supports the persistence of extended family relationships and other aspects of Iñupiat culture in Barrow today.

Changes in Barrow accelerated from the mid-1940s until the end of the ARCON period in 1953. The pace slowed until the early 1970s, but the community continued to grow in size and complexity. The physical changes included the construction of new housing, roads, and an airport. Public utilities were added, including electrical generation and a sanitation program. An energy system that everyone could afford became available with the extension of the natural gas pipeline into Barrow.

Changes in the Iñupiat material culture also became apparent. They began to purchase such modern equipment as stoves, washing machines, and outboard motors. Mail order clothes were increasingly visible. The changes were driven by the expansion of the wage economy in Barrow--first with ARCON and later the DEW-Line construction. Iñupiat entrepreneurs emerged to capitalize on the increased availability of cash in the community. Large-scale participation in new economic opportunities during this period were limited primarily to men.

Social problems, many associated with alcohol, also emerged during this period. Significant changes occurred with the integration of Barrow into the larger Alaskan and national society. The city council emerged as a prominent local institution during this period. It also became a vehicle for interacting with the outside community. Iñupiat contact with the outside world intensified, and knowledge of English became essential. Barrow people left the North Slope in large numbers and more people visited Barrow.

As the outside world increasingly impinged on the Barrow Iñupiat, they recognized the need to resolve aboriginal land rights and protect their land base. The discovery of oil at Prudhoe Bay and the state selection of land in the North Slope region intensified the issue. It was in response to these concerns that alliances with other North Slope villages occurred and the regional organization (ASNA) was formed. New patterns of leadership were also emerging with the younger and educated men assuming the leadership roles. It also led to the next phase in Iñupiat development in Barrow with the incorporation of the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation (ASRC), the Ukpeagvik Iñupiat Corporation (UIC), and the NSB in the early 1970s.

Endnotes

1. The individual who recounted this story is one of the most successful whaling captains in Barrow.

2. The three qargi [community houses]--Killulligmiut, Sigluagmiut, and Ualligmiut, which had been used by the fathers of some of the elders in Barrow--had been abandoned around the turn of the century.

3. Dr. George was unable to bring most of his clothing and supplies.

4. The pattern is repeating itself in subsequent generations in this case, as well as others. The neglected child, who is now a young woman in her mid-twenties, is reportedly in the last stage of alcoholism. Two of her children have been taken away by the State, and one child has been adopted.

5. The regulations implemented under the Migratory Bird Treaty of 1916 had never been enforced in Barrow, because the season opened after the birds had left the Arctic.

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CHAPTER THREE

BARROW TODAY

The Physical Setting

> Prudhoe Bay has drastically changed the political atmosphere of Barrow. Back when they were exploring, there was no political impact. The Iñupiat pretty well had the governing, had the last say on political activities. But when oil was discovered in Prudhoe Bay, then everything changed in the governing scope in a short period of time. And everything that has materialized today is because of oil in Prudhoe Bay. The Prudhoe Bay area was a haven for hunting in the past. Since the oil industry has become active, the traditional hunting grounds have not been available to the Iñupiat people. This is the most impact it has had on our cooperative sharing. We have not been able to have access to the traditional hunting grounds that we were raised with. . . . The Iñupiat have a close relationship with the land and animals. It changed the spiritual need between the Iñupiat people and their traditional hunting grounds because they had a very close relationship between land and animals.
>
> Jonah Leavitt
> July 18, 1985

More than any other community in this oil-driven state, Barrow residents have experienced the most rapid transformation of their physical, economic, and social setting over the last 10 years. The changes during this decade dramatically exceeded those of the previous booms the village had experienced, which already differentiated Barrow from other rural Alaska communities.

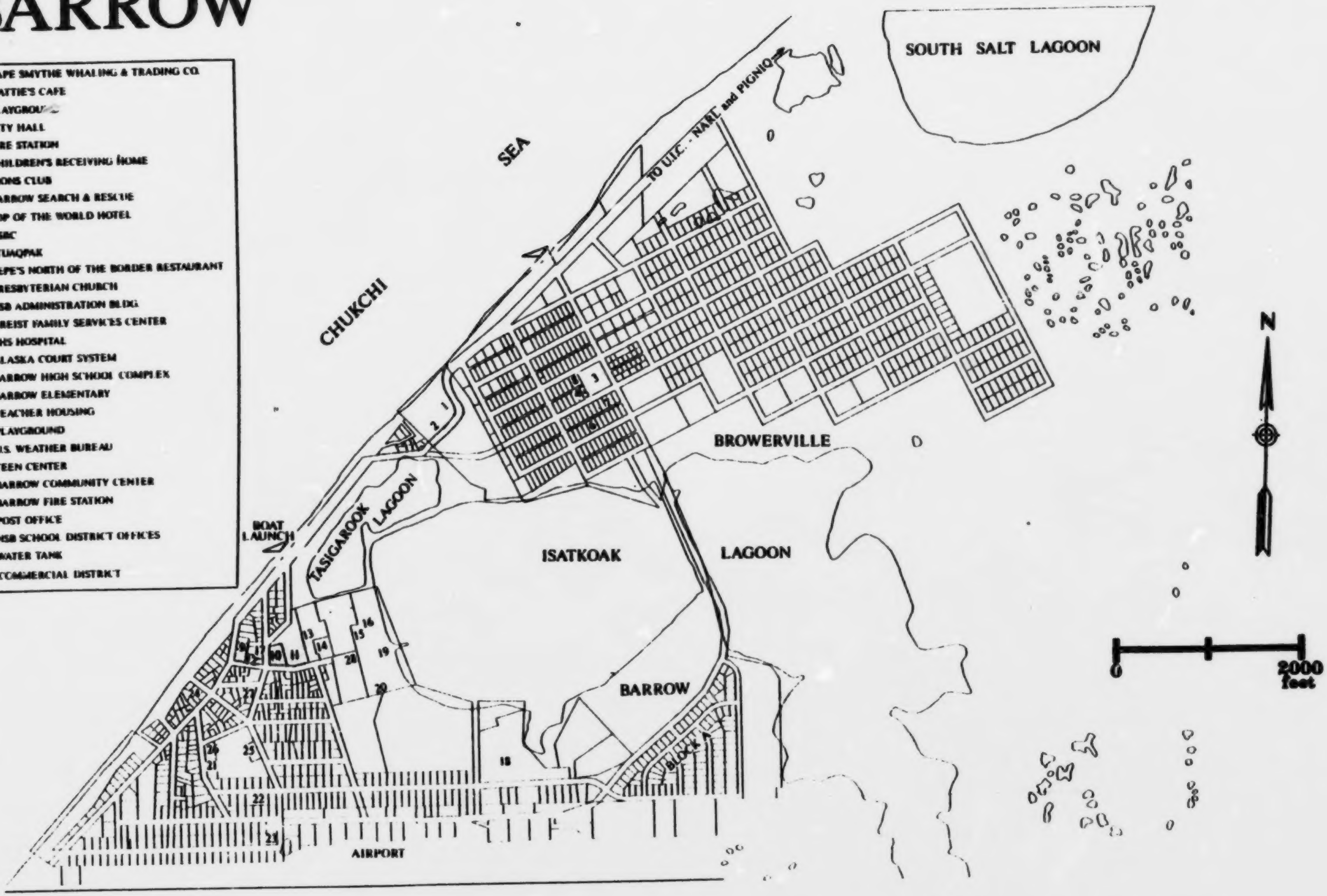
The physical transformation of the village of Barrow into a bustling regional economic and administrative center with multi-storied, glass-fronted office buildings; city buses; a variety of stores, hotels, and restaurants; racquetball courts, an indoor track, and swimming pool; and local radio and TV stations occurred during the last 10 years. Large, sustained increases in annual income levels promoted significant household differentiation. The number of unrelated, non-Iñupiat persons in the community mushroomed while the Iñupiat population rose only slightly. A new ethnic diversification, including white, black, Filipino, Mexican, Korean, and Yugoslavian groups, appeared in the population.

Land within the community of Barrow became increasingly scarce for several reasons. First, the population spiralled from the mid-1940s to the present. This trend was exacerbated by the large federal land withdrawals within and adjacent to the settlement. Barrow is bounded by the sea, the airfield, a lagoon, and the various governmental withdrawals. The now-closed NARL, and a DEW-Line radar site, are located north between Browerville and Piqnig. The National Weather Service occupies a large area in the middle of town. Expansion into the federal withdrawals was restricted.

Overcrowded conditions were further compounded by the townsite survey in 1963. Additional acreage was taken for streets and rights-of-way, and houses were ordered to be relocated onto separate lots. Charles Brower was patented one entire block of land as a trading and manufacturing area (Smythe and Worl 1985:217). In spite of the vastness of the North Slope

FIGURE 2

BARROW



1 CAPE SMYTHE WHALING & TRADING CO.
2 MATTIE'S CAFE
3 PLAYGROUND
4 CITY HALL
5 FIRE STATION
6 CHILDREN'S RECEIVING HOME
7 LIONS CLUB
8 BARROW SEARCH & RESCUE
9 TOP OF THE WORLD HOTEL
10 ASRC
11 STUAQPAK
12 PEPE'S NORTH OF THE BORDER RESTAURANT
13 PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
14 NSB ADMINISTRATION BLDG
15 GREIST FAMILY SERVICES CENTER
16 PHS HOSPITAL
17 ALASKA COURT SYSTEM
18 BARROW HIGH SCHOOL COMPLEX
19 BARROW ELEMENTARY
20 TEACHER HOUSING
21 PLAYGROUND
22 U.S. WEATHER BUREAU
23 TEEN CENTER
24 BARROW COMMUNITY CENTER
25 BARROW FIRE STATION
26 POST OFFICE
27 NSB SCHOOL DISTRICT OFFICES
28 WATER TANK
COMMERCIAL DISTRICT

SOUTH SALT LAGOON
CHUKCHI SEA
TO U.I.C. - NARL and PIGNIQ
BROWERVILLE
ISATKOAK LAGOON
TASIGAROOK LAGOON
BOAT LAUNCH
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region, land available to the Iñupiat was limited. Barrow's occupied area expanded without a corresponding population increase, but land available for private Iñupiat use was reduced. This sequence of events, together with the continuous trickling of whites into the Barrow area during the 1960s, prompted the Iñupiat to once again raise the issue of their land rights.

Federal land withdrawals outside Barrow, including the 23-million-acre PET-4 in 1923 and the 8.9-million acre Arctic National Wildlife Range in 1960, had not posed significant conflicts for the Iñupiat. They generally continued to have unrestricted access to these lands. Resolving the Iñupiat's aboriginal title to the North Slope heightened after oil was discovered at Prudhoe Bay and state withdrawals in the region proceeded under the Alaska Statehood Act.

The issue of land claims, which had lain dormant since the reservation, was rejected in 1947, but events nevertheless stimulated the formation of ASNA (see chapter two). Its first priority was resolution of the Iñupiat's aboriginal land claims. Etok, an emerging young leader, told the North Slope Iñupiat who gathered to discuss land claims in the 1966 meeting in Barrow that the navy had taken PET-4, the Department of Interior had taken the wildlife range, and that the state and federal government had the power to take even the land on which their houses stood (Worl Associates 1978:72-73).

At the same time the Iñupiat were seeking resolution of their land claims in Congress, they began to file individual applications for land under the Alaska Native Allotment Act of 1906. The government had never informed the Iñupiat that they each had a right to file a claim for 160 acres. The Rural Alaska Community Action Program, Inc. (RuralCAP, a statewide non-profit organization) initiated an educational program in the late 1960s to encourage the Iñupiat to file for allotments since it was apparent that any land claims bill passed by Congress would terminate the allotment act provisions. By December, 1971, approximately 250 applicants had filed for land in the arctic region, primarily for land along the coastal zone from Harrison Bay to Cape Lisburne and along rivers at traditional land use sites (ibid.:80).

Passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) in 1971, patents to individual residential lots from the BLM Townsite Trustee, and applications for land allotments under the Alaska Native Allotment Act set the stage for a distinctive change in the Barrow Iñupiat's orientation to landownership. Under these legislative mandates, communally held lands were transferred to corporations and individuals as well as to the local governmental entity.

The distribution of Barrow's approximate area of 21 square miles is as follows:

Residential	81 acres, 39 percent
Industrial and Storage	73 acres, 35 percent
Public	45 acres, 22 percent
Commercial	9 acres, 4 percent

(Source: Alaska Consultants, Inc. 1983.)

Prior to the mid-1970s, land held by the BLM Townsite Trustee was reserved solely for Natives. In Klawock vs. Gustafson, the court granted the trustee the authority to auction lots, sell them to a government agency, or transfer them to the city (Case 1984). This decision meant that lots could be transferred to the city government as well as to non-Natives. Further, city governments could then sell or lease land to the highest bidder. The City of Barrow proceeded to lease land to the NSB, ASRC, and a number of other organizations. The city government planned to sell another 15 lots in 1983 but were successful in selling only three before UIC, the Barrow village corporation created under ANCSA, filed suit to prevent the city from selling the remaining lots. UIC claims that vacant lots within the townsite should be conveyed to UIC rather than the City of Barrow (see Smythe and Worl 1985:222-223).

UIC's intent was not to halt the conveyance of land to individuals, but rather to insure that the lots went to their Iñupiat shareholders. In 1982 UIC sponsored a land lottery for young, married shareholders and conveyed fee simple title to 67 lots. Two years later they sponsored another lottery for 208 acres. As part of its land management program, UIC also dedicated 20 miles along the Chukchi coast and another 700 acres on the original Nuvuk site at Point Barrow for subsistence purposes. UIC's program was designed to reconvey to their shareholders lands used for business, subsistence campsites, and other occupancy. Individuals who are not shareholders are required to have a permit to utilize lands which have been set aside for subsistence purposes. UIC also advised Alaska Department of Fish and Game (ADF&G) that it must have a permit to have access to its land. In one case it charged ADF&G with trespass (ibid.:242).

An increasing number of lots within Barrow are passing from Native ownership to non-Natives. 207 of the 300 lots in Barrow remain in restricted status (e.g., not subject to taxation, foreclosure, or zoning regulations). Some owners have transferred their lots from restricted to unrestricted status in order to sell their lots or use the lots as collateral to obtain bank loans. Banks, of course, can foreclose on these lots if the borrower defaults on the loan, and the land may then subsequently be sold to non-Iñupiat.

On the other hand, some Iñupiat have taken measures to maintain the restricted status of their lots. One lot was recently transferred from mother to son. No official payment was made since the family members wanted to retain the restricted status. Fifty-seven of the restricted lots provide income to their owners, most derived from rentals. Several rentals are businesses, including an office, auto shop, cafes, and an apartment building. Some lots have multiple rental units. Often the owner continues to reside on his or her lot along with the rental unit. This has led to overcrowding and mixes of business and residential use on the same lot.[1]

Shortage of land in Barrow continues to be a major problem in spite of UIC's acquisition of NARL land and facilities in

1985. Land shortage is cited by local business people, who tend to be non-Iñupiat, as a major deterrent to economic development within the community. During the Private Sector Economic Development Conference held in Barrow in July, 1985, the Local Private Enterprise Work Group business representatives submitted the following recommendation:

> The North Slope Borough should promote the availability of land for private business development and further that members of the business community be represented on the zoning commission. The borough should sponsor a meeting between the major land owners, appropriate governing agencies and businesses to seek a resolution to the land issue.

In 1982 a total of 8.7 acres of land was in commercial use, a relatively small amount for a community the size of Barrow. This represents a 74 percent increase over the more than five acres of commercial land in 1978. The shortage of land did not deter general growth and development, however.

Eben Hopson, the first mayor of the NSB, wanted to use the NSB oil-based revenues to develop a housing program to improve the living conditions of the Iñupiat, and housing construction accelerated markedly under programs of the NSB. In 1960 Barrow had a total of 237 dwelling units (Rice et al. 1964:18). By 1980 a total of 747 housing units was counted (Alaska Consultants 1983). By July, 1985, the director of the NSB Housing Department estimated that the number of housing units had jumped to 1,000 and that roughly 15 percent are low-income housing. Furthermore, about 300 names are still on the waiting list for housing and the average waiting period is approximately three years.

By the early 1980s the NSB constructed its first multi-unit building (29 apartments). A senior citizen apartment complex was constructed in 1975, but it was used as the first NSB office. The decision to construct multi-family units was based on the high demand for housing and the cost saving benefits. Borough officials believed that these units could be built faster and that utility and maintenance costs would be lower than for single-family units. A major complaint cited by the Iñupiat resident of the multi-family unit is that they are not designed to accommodate subsistence production activities. For example, people hang bags of meat out of the window because of lack of drying or freezer space. Dining room light fixtures are also used as drying racks.

Prior to 1976, school teachers lived in enclave housing units adjoining the school. Mayor Hopson wanted to integrate the white teachers into the community. He believed that if teachers lived within the community they would gain an understanding of the Iñupiat, which he felt would be beneficial to the students. He had only partial success in achieving this goal, however. While some teachers live within the community at the present time, a large number continue to live in the original school enclave complex.

Although the borough maintains a nondiscrimination policy with respect to placement,[2] unforeseen circumstances have created *de facto* segregation in NSB housing. In one of the two 29-units, all but two of the low-income apartments are occupied

In the second, which is not low-income housing, all but two are occupied by whites. The 71 units under the ASRC Housing Authority Low-Income Program and the 34 units under the ASRC Mutual-Help Homeownership program are predominantly occupied by Iñupiat. Other racially separate enclaves in Barrow include the Public Health Service (PHS) hospital. Thirty-five of the 47 employees are white and live in the PHS housing adjoining the hospital.

NSB is the primary housing source in Barrow. It owns 145 rental units in multifamily structures and 69 single-family rental units. Construction of 100 more units is under way. The NSB also built 105 units that it administers under the ASRC Housing Authority. Ironically, given Eben Hopson's original goals for improved Iñupiat housing in the community, the greater number of tenants in the NSB's multiple-family units are white borough employees who migrated to Barrow.

In spite of the NSB housing program, a BIA Housing Improvement Survey of Barrow, conducted in July, 1985, found that 184 houses occupied by Natives were in substandard condition.[3] Of these, 108 houses required renovation and another 76 needed replacement. BIA estimated 347 Native families need housing. This number included families who were renting and wanted to buy and extended family units living in single-family dwellings.

More than one-third of the housing units in Barrow are multifamily including the NSB complexes and 139 privately owned rental units. The major owners of the private multiple-family rental units are UIC, Cape Smythe Air Service, Tate Enterprises, and several other small business firms.

Commercial development in Barrow largely resulted from the infusion of cash from NSB expenditures and to lesser degrees from ASRC and UIC corporate activities. The major business operations in Barrow, with the exception of the privately-owned apartments, are six restaurants, four hotels, three grocery stores, and a number of smaller shops. Barrowites now boast of having three beauty shops (one of which includes a tanning salon), two fabric shops (Iñupiat-owned), a dry cleaner, a dance hall, and a private day-care center. The only bakery in town recently closed. Three airlines operate in Barrow.[4]

Almost all industrial developments are associated with local utility systems and storage and maintenance of heavy equipment. The Barrow Utilities and Electric Cooperative, Inc., (BUECI) facilities, including water and fuel tanks, water treatment plant, sewage treatment facility, community power generation plant as well as the central office and employee housing, are located adjacent to the business center between the hospital and elementary school. Three major heavy equipment and maintenance and storage facilities are located in Barrow and Browerville.

Commercial development occurred primarily in the center of town along Agvik Street. The largest hotel (Top of the World Hotel), ASRC corporate headquarters, the state court building (which also houses the only bank in town), UIC offices, and the largest retail store (Stuaqpak) are concentrated in this area.

The limited area available in the business district resulted in the dispersal of other commercial operations throughout Barrow and Browerville.

UIC's acquisition of a large portion of NARL enlarged the land base and the number of facilities available to the community. The NSB is renting office space there, and UIC converted the living quarters into a hotel and restaurant. A number of UIC employees live in old navy staff houses. Meetings and special educational workshops are now held at NARL. Although the sale of alcohol is prohibited in the community, the location of NARL outside of the city limits means that alcohol can be served publicly in the UIC-NARL facilities. The serving of cocktails during public receptions is a new phenomenon in Barrow. Moreover, the acquisition of NARL represented a symbolic victory for the Iñupiat, who had been excluded from the facility except when they worked for the NARL.

The number of churches in Barrow grew. It now has five churches--the Assembly of God, Presbyterian, Catholic, and, more recently, Baha'i and Baptist churches.

Numerous community facilities were built by the NSB during the last decade, including its central administrative office, its new public safety building, four new health and social service operations, and a search-and-rescue office and hangar to house its planes and helicopters. The NSB built a day-care center in 1985 but did not have the funds to begin operations.

The NSB School District constructed a central administrative office and a new high school complex in Barrow. The latter opened in 1983 and ranks as one of the finest facilities in the state. Five interconnected units include the academic building; the hub building which houses the 299-seat auditorium, a library, home science department, and a music center; the sports complex which includes a gymnasium with a seating capacity of 1,000, a track, a swimming pool, a weight-lifting area, and a gymnastic and wrestling room; vocational education building; and the utility wing.

The City of Barrow recently constructed a city hall, a fire hall, the Teen Center, and the Recreation Center. The city also administers the Barrow Community Center, which was constructed in 1967 and renovated in 1982.

One of the most visible indications of Barrow's physical growth is the tremendous increase in the number of motor vehicles and the development of a bus system. Roads for vehicular traffic made their appearance in Barrow in the 1940s, but dog teams served as the primary transportation through the 1960s. In 1963 the Barrow city council considered establishing a "dog park" for the 800 to 1,000 sled dogs in Barrow. Snowmobiles gradually replaced dog teams, and by the mid-1970s they became the primary transportation vehicle within the city limits. Today, they are primarily used for subsistence activities. Very few passenger cars were present in Barrow in the early 1970s, and most of the vehicles were owned by the NSB.

Increases in the number of registered vehicles is shown in Table 1. The increase in the number of privately-owned vehicles attests to the increased purchasing power of the Barrow resident. Until 1982 the State of Alaska gave a single count of all vehicles registered in the North Slope villages. In 1983, 495 vehicles were registered in the to North Slope communities, of which 443 were actually in Barrow; this pattern indicates the degree of concentration in Barrow for the prior years. The reported figures includes all cars, pickups, commercial trucks, and other types of vehicles.[5]

Table 1

Registered Vehicles

Year	All Vehicles
1984	498
1983	443
1982	341
1981	259
1980	205
1979	188

Source: Alaska Department of Motor Vehicles.

The NSB bus service in Barrow, which is called "Inuich Commuter Express," has four buses and a van. Buses operate six days a week from 6:20 AM to 10:00 PM. Routes run through Barrow and Browerville. From June through October a shuttle is added to include a run out to the Shooting Station with hunters and campers three times daily. The fare is fifty cents (twenty-five cents for children). Senior citizens, children under six, and handicapped persons ride free. The borough reports that because of the extreme arctic conditions no one is ever denied a seat for lack of fare. The bus service employs six drivers, none of whom is Iñupiat. Borough staff cite the low wage paid to bus drivers as the reason the Iñupiat have not sought these jobs. On a per capita basis the Barrow bus service is the most used bus system in the nation. The NSB estimates that 35 percent of the community rides the bus. Approximately 1,500 people ride the bus each day during the winter and 1,000 people per day in summer. The bus is used primarily by workers, and after work there is standing room only.

An Iñupiat-owned company was the only taxi service until the 1980s. Three taxi cab companies currently operate in Barrow. The two new companies are owned by a tanik and Filipino. The taxis generally operate seven days a week, 24 hours a day. They are extremely busy during the rush hours, when passengers must wait up to half an hour for a cab. The taxis operate much like a bus, picking up passengers as they go along. A ride to the store can involve as many as three other stops.

The conveniences offered by improved transportation, especially in winter, are somewhat offset when the roads are dusty in summer months. This is particularly troublesome for the those who are drying meat and fish outside their houses. Some families are now beginning to dry their products at NARL to avoid the dust.

Even though Barrow has grown tremendously in the last decade, it stills lacks many of the basic amenities of most urban communities. Only a portion of the residential units have been hooked up to the utilidor system. Many of the older nonborough houses continue to use the water delivery and honey-bucket system. During summer months, flooding is common around older houses because water is often directly disposed of outside the house. Eben Hopson's dream to modernize Barrow has yet to be fulfilled.

The Institutional Setting

> I don't believe that there's anything sacred about any organization . . . I view organizations as simply being tools of the people . . . The organizational goals spell out the use for that tool. One of the biggest impacts that ANCSA has had on Iñupiat has been the creation of many organizations that are of an unfamiliar structure. These organizations often have conflicting goals. People tend to over-identify with the particular organization they are involved with. The end result is conflict because of these new organizations having conflicting goals. So we have situations such as the ASRC against the North Slope Borough, or the City of Barrow vs. UIC, or the ICAS against the North Slope Borough . . . There is nothing traditional about these new organizations.
>
> James Stotts
> April 9, 1984

James Stotts is a Barrow Iñupiat. During his testimony (excerpted above) to the Honorable Thomas R. Berger of the Alaska Native Review Commission), he reported that he was a member of Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC) Executive Committee. He also served on the NSB Assembly and the ASRC Board of Directors. He has also been associated with the Iñupiat Community of the Arctic Slope (ICAS), and the UIC. He was a member of these institutions during the periods in which they began to define their goals as well as the period in which were engaged in conflicts. These five organizations, along with all of their commissions, committees, boards, and subsidiaries, were created after 1970.

The Iñupiat's ability to incorporate new organizations into their society is also characteristic of modern Barrow. Organizations which have been a source of change have also been used by the Iñupiat to adapt and cope with the changes that came during the last decade. The formal institutions expanded the world of the Iñupiat beyond Barrow and were used as the vehicles to act within the state, national, and international arena (see Appendix B for a brief chronology of institutional formation in Barrow).

As dramatic as the physical transformation was the proliferation of institutions which emerged in Barrow during the 1970 to 1985 period. Many of the new formal organizations were organized by the Iñupiat themselves to promote their political, social, and economic welfare. Yet it is these very same institutions that are a source of conflict. The institutions have aligned Iñupiat against Iñupiat in conflicts that have sometimes ended up in the courts. The institutions have gained a life of their own. They demand considerable time and energy from the Iñupiat member and representative, and they have philosophies and goals to which the

Iñupiat must adhere and advocate as a member or representative. The different institutional goals are often at odds with one another. The requirements of institutional leadership in many cases have gone beyond the expertise of the traditional political elites and thus have altered the traditional social structure. Community leadership which at one time was vested solely in the umialik has become specialized, fragmented, and dispersed among the many organizations. Moreover, the institutional responsibilities--time demands which take individuals away from home and family and put them into new settings and contact with non-Iñupiat people and conflicts between the institutions and subsequently between Iñupiat themselves--have subjected the participants to considerable personal stress.[6]

The growth and evolution of formal institutions accelerated in the last decade (see Appendix B). The community grew in complexity and altered the social environment of the traditional Iñupiat. Organizations which served community welfare were initially controlled by non-Iñupiat who had come to the community to administer such programs as the schools and health services.

The formation of specialized organizations was to focus on specific issues which promoted the general welfare of the community. The issues were broad, including governance, education, physical and social welfare, religion, economy, and the maintenance and preservation of Iñupiat culture. Many of the organizations began to assume functions that were formerly the sole responsibility of families. For example, the Children's

Receiving Home took care of children who would have in the past been cared for by extended family members. The development of these new organizations also indicates emerging social problems that could no longer be resolved by families, such as the AWIC and the Alcohol Treatment Center (See chapter eight for a discussion of these agencies).

Political institutions, the NSB and ICAS were organized on a regionwide basis. The objective was local control, or in the words of its early leaders, "home rule." The NSB was viewed as the vehicle to unify Barrow with the other North Slope villages, to maintain their political autonomy, and to protect their land ownership and utilization, while allowing the Iñupiat to benefit from petroleum development in the North Slope. ICAS was initially thought of as the organization to receive the funds and fee-simple title to lands transferred to the Iñupiat under ANCSA.

Interest in reactivating the federally-recognized tribal government, The Native Village of Barrow, has surged in the last two years because of the 1991 issues relating to ANCSA. Unless congressional amendments are adopted, the restrictions on the sale of stock in Native corporations will be removed. The fear is that non-Natives will be able to purchase stock and acquire control of Native corporate lands. Tribal governments are viewed by some Iñupiat as a means of protecting ownership of their lands received under ANCSA. Some Iñupiat are proposing that the corporate lands be transferred to the tribal governments.

Membership and participation in these organizations formalized social relationships in a manner that was new and often alien to its Iñupiat members. Though some extended families found themselves dispersed through a number of different organizations, some extended families came to dominate some organizations. In 1985, for example, one nine-member board has seven members who are related through direct kinship or marriage connections. Irrespective of kinship, personal ties become secondary to institutional relationships in many instances.

> One young corporate official described his first occasion which involved doing business with his mother who was on a [NSB] commission. He appeared before the commission and addressed his mother by her last name. Later she asked why he addressed her in this fashion. He replied that while he was doing business he was representing UIC and she was representing the commission. He told her that they could not think of their family relationship in these settings. He indicated that she found this encounter to be very painful. She called a family meeting to discuss how they would interact in these business and professional settings. They all agreed that they would have to learn to separate their family and business relationships, but that after 5:00 PM, they would be a family again, (Smythe and Worl 1985:239).

Separation of family and institutional relationships is not always possible, and it can easily become a source of conflict. In one instance an ANCSA corporation acquired a new business operation that was in direct competition with an existing private enterprise. The individuals who owned the private business called a family meeting, which included family members who served with the Native corporation that purchased the business which competed with the family-owned business. The corporate action created a conflict among family members. It was not a financial conflict of interest in the corporate fiduciary sense. The family members who were involved with the establishment of the new business did not have a financial investment in the business owned by other family members. The family members decided to resign from the board of the new business to avoid conflict within the family.

Many of the new organizations have divided the society into different generational groups. The intergenerational segmentation has become more pronounced in Barrow and represents a change from the past. The contrast in social interaction within traditional Iñupiat and Western society is particularly notable in dancing. Traditional Iñupiat dancing involves all age groups with both young and old dancing side by side. Even the voluntary organization, the Barrow Dancers, include both young and old members. During community feasts and ceremonies Iñupiat of all ages sit on the floor in a multipurpose room of the school. As the drumming and singing begin, elders and teenagers get up to dance as their mood calls. Toddlers join their parents and grandparents in dancing. During one of our visits to Barrow, we had been watching the traditional dancing. A lull in the dancing occurred, but it was not apparent that the dance was over since everyone remained seated. Someone started to play rock music, and almost immediately all the adults left. Only teenagers and young adults remained. They started dancing seemingly oblivious to the disappearance of the adults.

Today the elders have a senior citizens center and a special NSB bus which comes to their houses to pick them up and bring them to the center. At the center they visit among themselves, watch television, play cards, and have lunch there Monday through Friday. Activities are organized for the elders throughout the month. One woman who said she used to go there regularly notes that it is now becoming a place for men. The NSB has plans to construct an apartment complex for the elders. Every two years an elders conference is called to discuss the ways of the past. In addition, projects have been organized to record the past, such as the Utqiagvik Ethnohistory Project (Libbey 1984). Elders are the predominant members on the NSB Iñupiat History, Language and Culture Commission. They have been invited to make presentations to the students in school. During many of the organizational meetings, references are made to the elders and the need to have their involvement, but in actuality their participation is minimal. Instead, special programs have been created for the elders which separate them from the younger Iñupiat. Barrow elders seem to have become a symbol of the Inupiat cultural heritage.

The young have the Teen Center, school, and a host of other school-related organizations and activities. The high school is a fairly recent phenomenon in Barrow. For a period of 25 years (1947 to 1972), youngsters who attended high school left Barrow. They usually went to Mt. Edgecumbe and Sheldon Jackson High Schools in Sitka (in southeastern Alaska). The death of 11

Barrow students aboard an Alaska Airline flight that crashed outside of Juneau in 1971 prompted the NSB to open a local high school.

After the NSB assumed control of the Barrow Day School from the BIA, the school was transformed into a community center. Borough Mayor Eben Hopson removed the padlocks and chains from the doors which had barred the school from the community after 5 PM each school day while it was under BIA control. Under NSB administration the school became important, not only as an educational center, but as a recreational and social center for students as well as community members. This move was strenuously opposed by the non-Iñupiat administrative staff. It was at this time that Eben Hopson made the distinction between Iñupiat "local control" and non-Iñupiat "professional control" of institutions. Hopson noted that while the Iñupiat constituted the membership of the school board, the non-Iñupiat administration controlled the information and even the agenda placed before the school board. In this instance, Iñupiat "local control" prevailed and the school was to serve as a community center as well.

The school became a center of activity for many students during the school day and in the evening. During winter, especially, students can be found concentrated in the schools. They return to the school facilities immediately after dinner and often stay until it closes at 10 PM. The school facility became a home away from home for a large number of students. If they weren't playing basketball or jumping on the trampoline, they were sitting on the bleachers watching or visiting with other young people. The students opened a concession to raise funds for trips outside of Barrow.

The activities expanded in the new multimillion dollar high school complex. A variety of sport facilities are now available. Walking through the complex, one can see young people playing basketball, jogging on the track, lifting weights, swimming, doing aerobics, and even break dancing or just visiting in the hallways. School spirit is high and students seem to value the social aspects as much or perhaps even more so than the educational elements.

The school complex is also important to the community. Residents and many visitors as well begin to use the showers immediately after work. The adult recreational league basketball games are also held in the school gym. All community members have access to the sport facilities as well. Community meetings and activities are also held in the auditorium.

The school encourages the students to expand their horizons beyond Barrow. The Barrow Whalers, the high school basketball team, travel to other North Slope villages and the villagers in turn come to Barrow to compete in athletic competition. The school provides an opportunity for students to travel to other communities in Alaska and the southern states for various types of educational and athletic activities.

Most all school activities end in the summer, but young people continue to utilize the sports complex. For those students who do not work, summer is a time without schedules or demands. With the 24 hours of daylight, young people can be seen walking along the bluffs or on the beach. Many have three-wheelers that they ride almost continuously through the town, along the bluffs, and on the beach. During the summer months, many young people visit relatives in other villages and a few go to fish camps with their parents or grandparents. Others go to family cabins at Pigniq or the borough's Upiksu camp, where students can learn subsistence skills. Some have participated in the archaeological projects sponsored by the NSB. Others can be seen hanging around the Articade waiting for friends who are playing video games.

Bible school is a favorite for younger children, as is riding bikes during the summer months. Children can be seen playing games their parents played, such as teeter-totter. However, in this game, the children do not sit on the board, but instead they stand at each end of the board and take turns jumping, which catapults the playmate standing on the other end about a foot into the air. The playground in Browerville is a favorite meeting place for the younger children who play on the different equipment. Occasionally, one can see young boys stalking birds through the tundra grass throughout various areas in the village. They also ride the bus back and forth between Barrow and Browerville. It is the number of small children and teenagers seen throughout Barrow and Browerville that gives it a sense of it still being a village.

The numerous organizations provide jobs and sources of additional income. The NSB and NSB School Board, as well as a few of the other organizations, pay an honorarium or fee to the members who attend board and committee meetings. The fees which run up to $250 per day are important to those who have a limited income or do not have a wage job.

The organizations have been of particular benefit to women. The formation of the NSB, ASRC, and UIC provided employment opportunities for Iñupiat women that previously had not been available. The ARCON period had not provided Iñupiat women jobs to the extent that it had for men. The greatest change for Iñupiat women occurred during the last decade. The new institutions also provided a mechanism for young, educated women to acquire political influence and to attain positions of leadership. Within the last two to three years a greater number of women began moving into managerial and administrative positions, concentrated in the school, Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission (AEWC), City of Barrow, and UIC. As significant was their move into political elected positions within the NSB Assembly and UIC. Two women serve on the assembly, and women dominate the UIC Board of Directors, holding six of the nine positions. These gains have largely been made by young women, many of whom are college educated.

As far as can be determined, there was no conscious feminist movement in Barrow. Although the Barrow women joined the Alaska Native Women's Statewide Organization, they were viewed as rather conservative in contrast to the urban Native women. They tended to focus on Native issues, such as "1991" and subsistence, rather than on specific women's issues. Within the community the women have taken the lead in dealing with such social issues as the physical abuse of women (see chapter eight).

One of the results of the institutions within Barrow has been the assimilation of Iñupiat into the larger economic and political systems. This has been particularly evident in the ANCSA corporations, ASRC and UIC. A sequence of events surrounding the takeover of UIC by a group of young Iñupiat illustrates this point. In 1980 a group of young Iñupiat met and made the decision to replace the older members who the younger Iñupiat said were more oriented to a subsistence life-style than to economic institutions. They said that they intended to make their new organization act like a profit-making corporation. UIC "should no longer act like a government" (Smythe and Worl 1985:238). They immediately expanded their operations from their one retail store into several other business ventures, and by 1983, they had 12 subsidiaries and joint ventures.

Though many of the shareholders initially opposed ASRC's investment in the oil industry, the opposition has subsided. The chairman of the board indicates that this is because the industry has proven that it can develop without adversely affecting the environment. In the early 1980s, ASRC's board of directors removed its non-Iñupiat president and appointed one of their own members to assume the position. The company has been headed by an Iñupiaq since that time and has been financially successful.

Many of the organizations in Barrow have facilitated contact with villagers from other North Slope communities as well as organizations outside of the region within the state and nation. The NSB, ASRC, ICAS, AEWC, and AKOUNA-TC have supported region-wide contact. Representatives from each of these communities visit Barrow on a regular basis to attend the various board meetings. This has allowed relatives to maintain contact with one another and supported the traditional distribution and exchange network. Family members often carry subsistence products back and forth on these trips between Barrow and the villages.

Relationships with other Native corporations and organizations have been maintained through the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN). For the first time, an ASRC member serves as the chairman of AFN. Barrow representatives also sit on the Alaska Native Health Board and RuralCAP. More recently Barrow representatives have become involved with the Alaska Native Coalition (ANC, which replaced the United Tribes of Alaska), which is advocating the inclusion of tribal governmental rights in the 1991 ANCSA amendments. The current UIC president has taken an active interest in ANC and promoted the inclusion of village corporations in the coalition. Contact also expanded into the international arena with the formation of the ICC in

1977, AEWC, and through the work of the Fish and Game Management Committee on the International Porcupine Treaty.

Though Barrow has seemingly become fragmented into numerous organizations, community-wide integration has been maintained through several annual events, the whaling complex, and the interrelated households. At various times of the year, community members gather together to participate in different activities which include games, dancing, feasting. Several of the events are based on traditional ceremonies, such as the summer Nalukataq, which is sponsored by those captains who have taken a whale. The Nalukataq begins with a community feast in which maktak and other Native food are served. The feast is followed by the traditional blanket-toss. In the early evening Inupiat dancing begins and lasts for several hours. These feasts are then repeated at Thanksgiving and Christmas. The times of these feasts coincide with the seasonal period in which they were held before the churches were introduced. During Christmas, Inupiat games are included in the celebration. Community members gather in the multipurpose room to participate in the games or to observe. Children compete against others in the same age group, and adult teams are aligned between single and married individuals.

The Fourth of July is another popular event in which most everyone in the community is involved. The celebration begins with a parade featuring a mix of the old and new. Fire trucks and the NSB Search and Rescue boat lead the parade, followed by

the Mothers Club and Barrow Dancers. Fran Tate, a non-Iñupiaq entrepreneur who has been in Barrow for some 15 years and who has almost become an institution herself, joins the parade throwing gifts to the children. Children with decorated bikes and other individuals dressed in costume march along with the parade. All types of races are held throughout the day involving all age groups. Even the adults and elders participate in the races, which are favorite events to watch. Soccer, which is popular and is played into the early hours of the morning, pits Browerville against Barrow. Fourth of July activities continue for at least two days. Halloween is another favorite celebration in which community members of all ages don costumes. They parade around the multipurpose room as the spectators try to guess who they are.

The most recent event which was added to Barrow's community-wide repertoire four years ago is Piuraagiaqta. The April celebration, which means "Let's Go Play", was started by the chamber of commerce. The three day event, which has been heralded as bigger than the Fourth of July festivities, includes activities such as dog mushing races and golf played on the ice.

In spite of the extensive changes within the social environment of Barrow, the community resembles the old Barrow of the past. Even now, as this chapter is being written (on April 27, 1986), the community is celebrating as the respected whaling captains, Harry Brower and Luther Leavitt raised flags over their house to announce that they had taken whales. Community members have joined together to pull the whale onto the ice, to butcher the whale, to share in the first whale of the season, and to reaffirm their membership in the Iñupiat society.

Endnotes

1. Owners of restricted lots can do as they wish on their land since the NSB does not have any zoning or planning authority over them.

2. Exceptions are made for borough personnel, usually temporary, hired from outside the borough for specific jobs. These individuals tend to be white and have priority over those on the borough waiting list.

3. These are private homes not built by the NSB.

4. A fourth, which was initially started by an Iñupiaq and then joint ventured with UIC in 1984, has already gone out of business.

5. These numbers are lower than the actual number of vehicles in town. Since vehicle registration is accomplished by mail, and enforcement is not a priority for the local police, state officials suggest that these figures are useful as estimates rather than actual numbers of vehicles.

6. For descriptions of the substantial pattern of institutional formation and development in Barrow and the region since 1970, see Smythe and Worl (1985), Morehouse, McBeath and Leask (1984), Worl, Worl and Lonner (1981), McBeath (1981), McBeath and Morehouse (1980), Worl Associates (1978), and Morehouse and Leask (1978).

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CHAPTER FOUR

POPULATION AND MIGRATION

The Barrow Villages: 1850-1940

The Barrow Iñupiat first encountered Europeans in the early to mid-nineteenth century. The Europeans were seeking a northwest passage, and documenting the northernmost portions of the American continent in the event that a northwest passage could not be found. In 1826 a small sailing barge left her mother ship, the *Blossom*, near Icy Cape and worked its way north through the ice in search of Captain John Franklin's expedition, which was making its way to join the *Blossom* along the northern Alaska coast from the east. The open boat reached a long spit of land marking the northwest point of the continent and continued to the east before turning back, failing to meet up with Franklin. Unknown to them, Franklin had decided to return eastward. F.W. Beechy, captain of the *Blossom*, named the spit Point Barrow after Sir John Barrow, the English Secretary of the Admiralty, "to mark the progress of northern discovery . . . advocated by that distinguished member of our naval administration" (Orth 1967:108). The bluff on the coast near the southern terminus of the spit, on which an Iñupiaq settlement was situated, was named Cape Smyth after the ship's navigator.

Eleven years later two explorers sponsored by the Hudson's Bay Company traveled by boat down the Mackenzie River and west along the coast until they, like the Blossom, were stopped by the ice. One of the men, Thomas Simpson, continued overland as far west as Point Barrow before returning to the east. In the following year, a Russian-Aleut explorer, A.F. Kashevarov, traveled north from Cape Lisburne in three-hatched kayaks with crews of Aleut oarsmen. He travelled past Point Barrow eastward along the northern coast until his translator informed him that the Iñupiat were grouping from their summer camps to attack his party. As Kashevarov set out to the west, Iñupiat kayakers set out in pursuit but, after five miles, the heavy seas forced the Iñupiat to land their smaller boats. Kashevarov continued though the night and did not set up camp until his party was stopped by the ice ten miles south of Cape Smyth (Vanstone 1977). Expeditions in 1849, 1850, and 1852 searched the region for the missing third Franklin party and travelled by boat along a route to Point Barrow and beyond similar to that followed by Kashevarov (Vanstone 1977:12).

These explorers documented winter settlements along the coast and the dispersal of Iñupiat during the summer into smaller, temporary camps into areas which continue to be used by modern Barrowites. Larger villages, such as those at Point Hope and Barrow, were inhabited year round. There were two communities in the vicinity of Point Barrow. Nuvuk was located near the northern end of the spit. When encountered by the explorers, some Nuvuk Iñupiat were spread out along the north coast eastward in camps of two to five tents each (Vanstone 1977). The other community, Utqiagvik, was located on the bluff of Cape Smyth (near the heart of downtown modern Barrow). The Utqiagvingmiut traveled down the coast or went inland during the summer months. According to reports in 1852-53 (Simpson) and 1882-83 (Ray), Nuvuk was the larger village (Vanstone 1977:74). Simpson estimated 309 residents (54 houses) at Nuvuk and 250 Iñupiat (40 houses) in Utqiagvik. Ray reported 150 inhabitants at Nuvuk and 130 in Utqiagvik.

The discovery of large populations of bowhead whales and walrus migrating into the Arctic Ocean during the summer months brought commercial whalers into the region in increasing numbers from the mid-1850s. Although some captains utilized Iñupiat as crew members, those arctic inhabitants who came into contact with the whalers usually did so as providers of food and shelter during times of shipwreck and misfortune. Bodfish (1944) reported that an informal system of credit developed among the whaling captains. When crew members were assisted by Iñupiat, the Natives would be given a note which could be redeemed at any whaling ship for goods in the amount of assistance provided, which would later be honored by the parent companies in San Francisco.

During this period the whaling fleet was so large that the Iñupiat occasionally came into contact with great numbers of non-Iñupiat people. In 1871, 39 ships were reported to be whaling off the coast near Wainwright when the sea ice began to form, threatening to catch the boats in its grip. Seven ships retreated to the south, but 32 remained and were crushed in the approaching ice for a loss of 1.5 million dollars. 1,219 crew members reportedly walked south to Icy Cape to board the remaining ships to safety. Five years later, 13 ships were lost between Wainwright and Barrow; 300 people were rescued, 53 remained to be provided food and shelter by local Iñupiat, and others perished (Andrews 1939:81-2).

Barrow became the site of a shore-based whaling operation that employed Iñupiat crews in the summer months and gave them provisions throughout the winter (Brower 1942). The success of this venture was noted by some Iñupiat umialit, who emulated the enterprise by hiring their own crews and similarly providing them with trade goods and food in winter.

During this whaling period, which lasted until the baleen market crashed in 1908, the population of Barrow grew significantly larger than that of other settlements in the region. The population of Tigara (Point Hope), the other major Iñupiat settlement on the North Slope (and only other shore-based whaling station) at this time, was larger than either Utqiagvik or Nuvuk from 1890, when it was 301, until 1910, when it declined to 243, about half of that of Utqiagvik. However, since the reported population was 623 in 1900, the figures in that year probably include Jabbertown, the primarily non-Iñupiat settlement of many races serving the whaling fleet. Jabbertown was situated several miles to the south of Tigara (U.S. Census).

In addition to a general migratory trend from the Bering Strait area towards the north, evident at the time of contact, the opportunities to acquire items of technology, trade goods, and other products attracted the Iñupiat to Barrow. By 1890 Utqiagvik, the site of the shore-based whaling operation, was larger than Nuvuk (see Table 2). The U.S. census for 1890 reported 66 non-Natives in the two villages (57 were at Utqiagvik, which is listed in the census as Cape Smythe Settlement). After this, Nuvuk's population continued to decline until 1945, when the last residents moved south to Utqiagvik, the site of the modern village.[1]

Table 2

Population of Barrow Villages, 1890 - 1939

	Utqiagvik	Nuvuk
1890	246	152
1900	314	---
1910	446	127
1920	322	94
1929	330	82
1939	363	28

Source: U.S. Census.

The population of the Barrow area did not rise above the 1910 figure until after World War II. A few Barrowites were involved in reindeer husbandry, which continued after the swift and catastrophic decline of the whaling industry. Small herds of

Siberian reindeer were introduced to Alaska by the Bureau of Education after 1892 to provide a training and vocational education program for the Iñupiat. This program partly responded to the decline in caribou populations on the North Slope, which had suffered from heavy harvests to support the whaling ships. Reindeer herds contributed to the wealth of some families in Barrow, but many others did not participate.

More Barrowites were involved in trapping, which resulted in the maintenance of outlying hunting, fishing, and trapping groups and, after the decline of whaling, in the dispersal of the Barrow population. Trading posts, which served both the whaling ships and the trappers, were first established along the coast of northern Alaska in the 1890s. Iñupiat were already trapping and trading furs with the ships. One Barrow resident reported having a ship as a trading partner (Libbey 1984:37). The Cape Smythe Whaling and Trading Company, first established in Barrow in 1893, sponsored trading posts along the coast as far east as the Canadian border after 1915. Before the posts were established, Barrowites began to buy goods at the store and take them east by dogsled for trading and bartering. After the Native Store was started in 1921, it established branches to the east as well. Finally, there were small traders east of Barrow who worked largely for themselves. These white entrepreneurs often intermarried with Iñupiat.

In 1939 the U.S. census recorded nine trading posts and small villages along the coast and rivers to the south or east of

Barrow, with a total population of 280 individuals. This number included 18 people at Brower Village (Browerville), which was enumerated separately from Utqiagvik at the time. Although Utqiagvik has been the largest settlement on the North Slope since 1910, by 1939 the population of Utqiagvik (363) declined to nearly equal that of Wainwright (341). These two villages were about 100 persons larger than the next largest village, Tigara (257). The combined Barrow village population (Nuvuk and Utqiagvik, 391) was less than half of the regional population of villages and outlying areas (995). This proportion would change dramatically in subsequent decades (see Figure 3 below).

The other important population trend during the postwhaling years was the relative absence of non-Iñupiat in the region. The few white traders have been mentioned, and there were also one or two school teachers present in each village. However, Utqiagvik had the largest population of non-Natives, and these numbered about 15 per year until World War II brought in the navy. In 1924, for example, there were 11 non-Natives living in the village, including the owner and staff of the Cape Smythe Whaling and Trading Company, the Presbyterian missionary and family, a school teacher, and three nurses. The group was comprised of six males (including one boy) and five women (Andrews 1939:236).

Barrow, the Town: 1940-1985

After 1940 the population of Utqiagvik, or Barrow village as it was named in English, grew to supercede by significant numbers the levels of all the North Slope region villages and settlements combined. During the war the navy began construction of a base between Utqiagvik and Nuvuk, which after the war was expanded as a base of operations for exploration of PET-4 that surrounded Barrow. Effectively cut off from Utqiagvik, the remaining residents of Nuvuk moved south to the larger village in 1945. In 1947, the navy also opened a center for polar research, the Arctic Research Laboratory, which continued to operate long after the oil exploration activities were terminated in 1953.[2]

According to a previous study of Barrow by Sonnenfeld (1957), reindeer and trapping gave way to employment in the oil exploration industry from 1946 until 1953. The population of Barrow nearly trebled after 1946, as people moved into the community from out on the land or nearby villages such as Wainwright. The population declined again after 1953 as Barrowites returned to outlying areas or migrated south to Fairbanks. Sonnenfeld reports that, within a year of the termination of activities, trapping was at the highest level since 1944, and five times the ARCON (oil exploration) period average. Also, 18 families, or 78 individuals, emigrated to Fairbanks within the year.

Another construction period soon followed. This time the U.S. Air Force installed DEW-Line radar stations in the region. By the winter of 1954-55, contractors had converged on Barrow as the center of construction activity. During the 1950s and 1960s residents of outlying areas and villages moved into Barrow and, to a lesser extent, Wainwright and Point Hope. One new community, Kaktovik, became established at a traditional fishing site near one of the DEW-Line stations at the time of its construction. The movement of people in the region included those who lived "on the land" (supporting themselves through hunting, fishing, and trapping) as well as residents of the settled communities.

Several small villages were abandoned in the 1950s and 1960s. The coal mine at the Meade River village (Atqasuk) was closed and the community disbanded. The post office established there in 1951 was discontinued in 1957 (Orth 1967:631). The Colville River settlement was also abandoned. Residents of Point Lay, which numbered 75 in 1950, dispersed. The Point Lay population had decreased from 115 in 1939 to 75 in 1950, and there is no record of the community in the 1960 census. Many of the Point Lay people apparently migrated to Wainwright and Barrow. As late as 1971 there were 63 individuals who claimed Point Lay as their residence in a tribal election (establishment of ICAS), and BIA documents suggest these individuals voted in Wainwright and Barrow.

The population of Barrow, expressed as a percentage of the total region, increased from 29 percent in 1939 to 70 percent in 1970. Figure 3 displays the relationship of the growth of Barrow in comparison to other villages in the region (from figures presented in Table 3). In 1970 there were four other villages on the North Slope: Kaktovik, Wainwright, Anaktuvuk Pass, and Point Hope. The large increase in Barrow's population between 1940 and 1970 resulted from immigration of Iñupiat into Barrow and an increased birth rate in the community during this same period. The next decade, 1970 to 1980, was characterized by a reversal in both of these trends.

Table 3

North Slope Population, 1939-1980

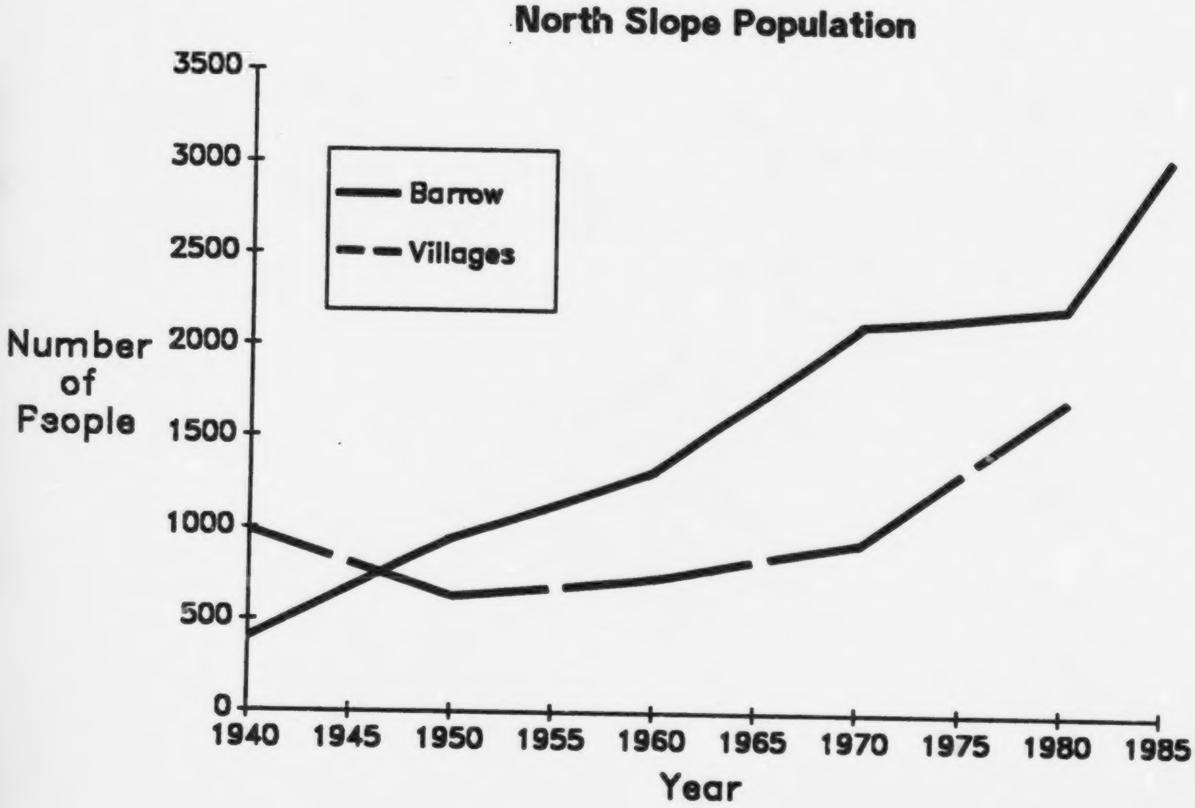
	Barrow		Villages		Region Total	
1939	391	(28%)	995	(72%)	1,386	(100%)
1950	951	(60%)	632	(40%)	1,583	(100%)
1960	1,314	(64%)	732	(36%)	2,046	(100%)
1970	2,104	(70%)	923	(30%)	3,027	(100%)
1980	2,207	(57%)	1,700	(43%)	3,907	(100%)

Note: The population figure for villages includes 13 villages and small settlements in outlying areas in 1939. In 1950 and 1960 this figure incorporates only four villages. Seven villages are included in 1980.

Source: U.S. Census.

With contributions of financial aid and capital development projects from the newly formed ASRC and the NSB, three village

Figure 3



Sources: 1940-1980: U.S. Census.
1985: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

sites were resettled between 1970 and 1980. These were the communities at Colville River (Nuiqsut), Meade River (Atqasuk), and Point Lay. New village sites were constructed, and during the same period the other North Slope communities underwent substantial improvements of existing facilities and construction of new infra- structure and housing. This activity, producing both unprecedented levels of local employment opportunities as well as greatly improved basic services and facilities, attracted Iñupiat to the villages from Barrow and other regions of the state (and beyond, in some cases).

The growth of the village population outside of Barrow between 1970 and 1980 can be seen by comparing figures for those two years (Table 3, illustrated in Figure 3). In 1970 the village population totaled 923, about one-third (31 percent) of the population for the region. By 1980 the village figure had almost doubled to 1700, which was slightly less than half (43 percent) of the regional population.

On the other hand, the population of Barrow grew only slightly (103 persons, or 0.5 percent) during this decade, in contrast to the previous decade (see Table 4).[3] This pattern of growth resulted from several processes. First, there was a net decline in the Iñupiat population by 185 people (10 percent) as families migrated out to the villages and urban centers of the state, and beyond. The improvements (and resulting new employment opportunities) in the four existing villages and the three newly resettled communities in the region stimulated the emigration of Barrow residents to other North Slope villages. The development of formal institutions in Barrow, as well as increased educational and employment opportunities in other areas of the state, augmented migration to urban areas. The emigration of Barrow's Iñupiat population, in combination with a decrease in the Iñupiat birth rate, altered significantly the trends of Iñupiat population increase which were characteristic of earlier years.[4]

Table 4

Barrow Population Characteristics, 1960-1980

	1960		1970		1980	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Under 5 yrs.	148	133	152	154	99	106
5 - 14 yrs.	219	202	326	313	204	212
15 - 24 yrs.	78	75	212	213	278	253
25 - 34 yrs.	109	74	152	127	275	218
35 - 44 yrs.	58	49	108	80	123	88
45 - 54 yrs.	46	51	61	59	111	68
55 - 64 yrs.	24	13	52	39	64	38
65 + yrs.	15	20	32	24	48	32
	697	617	1095	1009	1192	1015

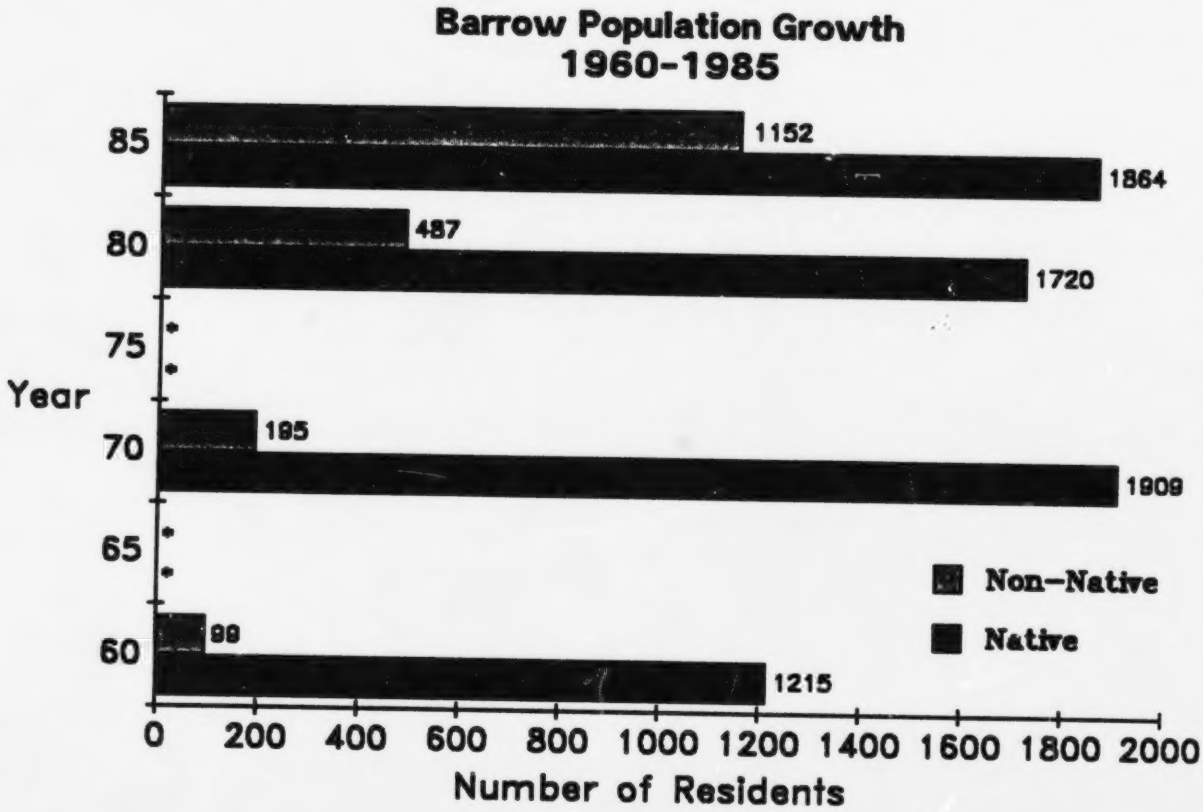
Source: U.S. Census.

However, the town of Barrow itself underwent substantial development after 1970, which greatly increased economic opportunities in the community. Also, Barrow attracted personnel as it expanded as the administrative and financial center for the region. As a result of these developments, a large population of non-Native construction, managerial, professional, and entrepreneurial personnel migrated to the town. The number of non-Iñupiat residents more than doubled to 487, or 22 percent, of the 1980 population.[5] The net increase in Barrow's population between 1970 and 1980 is due primarily to the immigration of non-Iñupiat. As we shall discuss in greater detail below, these figures are net results which do not adequately portray the magnitude of population movements that characterize the recent period.

The recent increase in non-Native persons in Barrow, as contrasted with other North Slope villages, is an historical trend that began to intensify in the 1960s. The U.S. census reported 99 non-Natives (7.5 percent of the town's population) were resident in Barrow in 1960. Ten years later this number had doubled to 199 (9.4 percent of the population). This number was four times the total non-Native population in all the villages, excluding Barrow, which was 43. Village populations were 95 percent Native in 1970, whereas in Barrow the Native share was 91 percent. 82 percent of the region's non-Iñupiat residents were located in Barrow in 1970.

The increase in the non-Native population of Barrow accelerated after 1970 (Figure 4), following the rapid development of new institutions and capital construction projects. In 1980 the number of non-Native residents of Barrow had increased to 487, more than double the number present in 1970. The Native share of

Figure 4



Note: Native includes Iñupiat, Indian, and Aleut. The Iñupiat population was 1695 in 1980, and in 1985, 1823.

Sources: 1960-1980: U.S. Census.
1985: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

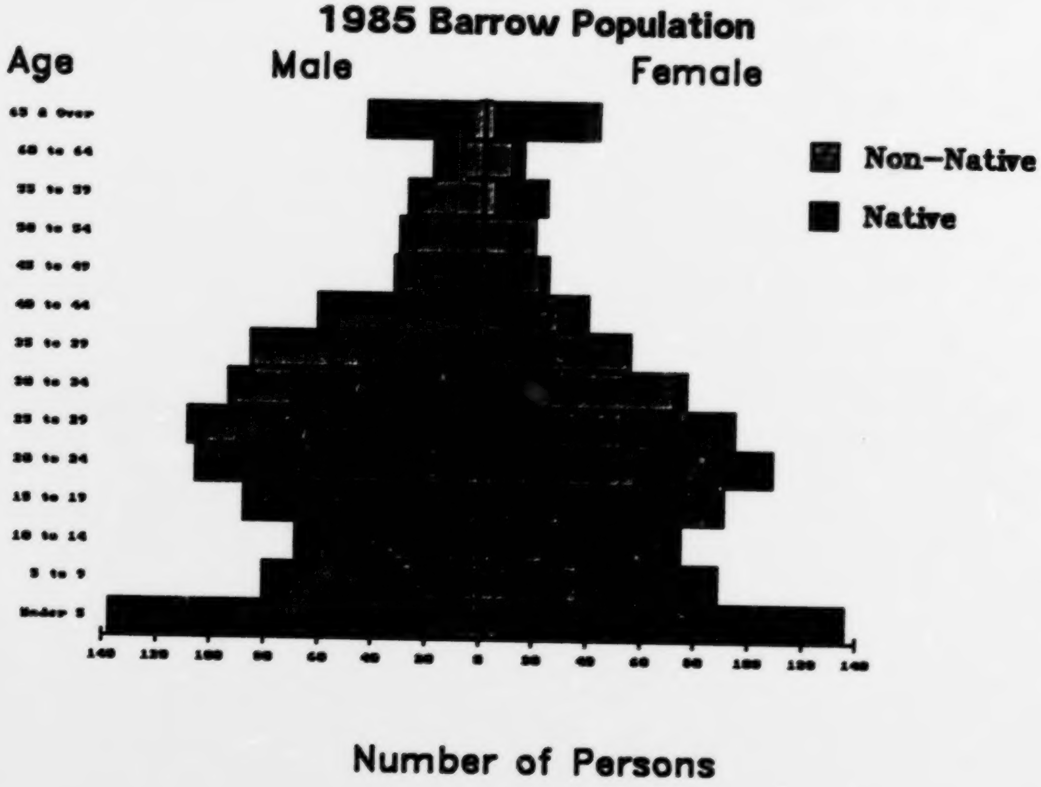
the total Barrow population decreased from 91 percent to 78 percent between 1970 and 1980. By 1985 this proportion decreased to 61 percent, despite a large net growth in the five years since 1980. The number of non-Natives had more than doubled again, to 1,170.

Throughout the region, the percentage of Native residents declined from 92 in 1970 to 82 in 1980 (not counting the industrial and military sites).[6] The 1980 U.S. census figures show a large increase in non-Natives both in Barrow and the seven outlying villages. There were 212 non-Natives counted in the seven North Slope villages outside of Barrow in 1980, compared to 487 in Barrow. This increase in non-Natives outside of Barrow was largely a temporary phenomenon which has not persisted into 1985. By then most of the larger, labor-intensive capital projects in the villages were complete.

The population of Barrow has grown by one-third in the last five years, which is a very rapid increase in population. In 1985, Barrow's population had risen to 3,016, 809 more than in 1980. As in the previous decade, the significant factor of growth was the large increase in non-Natives. The Native population rose by only 126, to 1,846, while the number of non-Natives more than doubled (from 487 to 1,170, as described above).

There is a substantial difference in the age structure between the Native and non-Native populations in 1985, which is illustrated in Figure 5. The Native population is significantly

Figure 5



Note: Age groups that are shaded as only non-Native include an equal number of Native residents. Native refers to Alaska Iñupiat, Indian, and Aleut.

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

larger than the non-Native for ages under twenty and over sixty years, but between those years Natives[7] comprised just over half of the total population (52.7 percent). Moreover, Natives are in the minority between the ages of 30 and 50. This group is 46.1 percent Native, which results from a higher total of non-Native males, compared to Native males, in this age group. By way of comparison, in 1980 there was only one age group, 40-44 years, in which non-Native males outnumbered Native males; and between the ages of 30 and 50, which was the locus of the major shift by 1985, Natives comprised 67.4 percent of the population (see Tables C and D in Appendix C).

Barrow has a much higher ratio of permanent non-Iñupiat residents than the villages. We define "permanent residents" as those individuals who reside in a community for two years or longer, as contrasted with a definition based on presence or absence in a community during a census count. Whereas most of the village non-Iñupiat population has been transient construction workers, in Barrow a significant proportion of non-Natives work in other sectors (professional, administrative/managerial, clerical, and, to a lesser extent, service and trade) and remain as permanent residents. The 1985 Barrow census data were drawn primarily from a less transient population than was the case in earlier years. Temporary workers staying in hotels were not counted. Also, although a few CIP projects were under way in Barrow during 1985, the level of construction activity was lower than previous years. Changes in inter-ethnic relationships between Iñupiat townspeople and the longer term, non-Native residents are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Another characteristic of the Barrow non-Native population is that a degree of ethnic diversity has been introduced in the community that is not evident in the villages. In the last five years, permanent populations of white, black, Filipino, Yugoslavian, Mexican, and Korean groups have become evident in Barrow. Table E (Appendix C) presents the ethnic composition of the present Barrow population. Whites comprise 28 percent of the total. The next largest non-Native group is Oriental, which is five percent of the total. This group is comprised mainly of Filipinos, although there is also a small group of Koreans who manage one of the town's restaurants. Estimates of the Filipino population obtained by us during the summer are much higher (200 to 300) than the figures reported here.

Finally, the numbers also indicate that the Iñupiat birth rate reversed itself again in the last five years. Children under five years old make up the largest cohort in the Native population (15 percent).[8]

Barrow Households: 1985

Another way to describe the growth and diversity of the community is to examine changes in Barrow's households, particularly trends in the quantity, size and composition of residential units in the town.

The number of households in Barrow has increased in the following increments:

1960	211 households	(U.S. census)
1970	373 households	(U.S. census)
1980	607 households	(U.S. census)

The average rate of growth was 4.3 percent during the 1960s, which declined slightly to 3.9 percent in the 1970s. In the recent period, a more rapid growth has taken place in Barrow:

1978	541 households	(NSB survey)
1980	702 households	(NSB survey)
1985	935 households	(NSB survey)

These figures yield an annual rate of growth of 11.5 percent between 1978 and 1980, and of 5.0 percent from 1980 to 1985.

The following discussion of household size and composition is based on information from the latter figures, that is, housing and employment surveys sponsored by the NSB in 1978, 1980, and 1985. The borough surveys provide more detailed household level data than is available from other sources; we developed a small data base which has allowed us to integrate information from these surveys.

The higher rate of increase in mixed and non-Iñupiat households, as compared to Iñupiat, accounts for the household growth in the recent years. By 1985, Iñupiat households were in the minority, representing 44 percent of Barrow's households (see Table 5). If racially mixed households are included in the analysis, the percentage of Native households rises to 57.[9] A comparative figure from 1978 is 71 percent, illustrating the intensity of the recent trend. The proportion of Iñupiat households decreased significantly, although the absolute number increased. As expected from the population trends described above, the number of non-Native households increased at a faster rate than Native.

Table 5

Ethnic Composition of Barrow Households

	1978	%	1985	%	Increase	%
Iñupiat	338	63	416	44	78	19
Mixed	44	8	119	13	75	63
Non-Native	159	29	400	43	241	60
Total	541	100	935	100	394	42

Source: North Slope Borough surveys.

A more rapid increase in Iñupiat households occurred between 1978 and 1980 than was evident in the 1980-1985 period.[10] Iñupiat households increased by 14 percent between 1978 and 1980, while during the first five years of the 1980s the level of increase was only 5 percent. This computes to an average annual rate of increase of 7 percent from 1978 to 1980, which declined to 1 percent between 1980 and 1985. Comparative figures for non-Native households, 38 and 36 percent respectively, show a similar trend, but with a much higher rate of increase than Iñupiat households (average annual rate of 19 percent per year between 1978 and 1980, and 7.2 percent from 1980 to 1985).

Over the seven year period, the number of mixed households increased by 63 percent, a higher rate than either Iñupiat or non-Native households. The number of mixed households rose slowly between 1978 and 1980, but it more than doubled in the last five years.

The largest proportion of mixed households result from intermarriages between Iñupiat and non-Iñupiat individuals. In 1978, all but two, or 95 percent, of mixed households were a product of mixed marriages. This proportion declined to 82 percent in 1985, indicating a small trend towards diversification among the kinds of intra-household relationships in these households. The new forms of intra-household relationships include a variety of nuclear and extended or compound family forms, such as a mixed couple living with another couple, a white child or grandchild living in an Iñupiaq household, or an individual living in a family household of another race. The incidence of roommates (non-family households) involving multi-ethnic individuals was small, increasing from one to three percent of mixed households through the period. Seven households were comprised of a white couple and an Iñupiaq child; these households probably are the result of placements of Iñupiat children from Barrow and the villages into foster homes in the community. Placing Iñupiat children in non-Iñupiat households is a practice of the social service agencies responsible for the welfare of neglected and abused children.[11]

About three-quarters of the mixed marriages are between Iñupiat and whites, and the proportion increased modestly between 1978 (71 percent) and 1985 (79 percent). In 1985, there were 77 Iñupiat-white marriages.[12] Most of these marriages are between Iñupiat women and white men; the proportion of this type of Iñupiat-white intermarriage declined slightly in over the period (83 percent in 1978, 78 percent in 1985).

The remaining mixed marriages in 1985 include individuals from a range of ethnic groups including Filipino, Black, Hispanic, American Indian, Yugoslav, Oriental, and others. This diversity is markedly different from 1978, when all but one of the non-white mixed marriages were with Alaskan Indian or Aleut, or other American Indian persons from the contiguous states. In that year, marriages between Iñupiat and other Natives constituted 26 percent of the mixed marriages, but in 1985 this proportion decreased to three percent. The earlier pattern of marriage with members of Indian groups resulted from experiences of Barrowites attending BIA schools and leadership programs in other parts of Alaska and the "lower 48" states.[13]

The recent higher rate of mixed marriages is a product of the increased presence of non-Iñupiat in Barrow. It is also indicative of change in both the Iñupiat and non-Native populations as more "outsiders" form enduring relationships with native Barrowites. One result of the institutional and capital development in North Slope communities is a focusing of social processes at the local level, with less interaction outside the region.

Concomitantly, more non-Iñupiat have chosen Barrow as a community in which to live and raise children. The formation of inter-ethnic relationships occurred less frequently in the 1970s, when the new population tended to be more transient. The trend towards greater permanency in the non-Iñupiat population is discussed in a later section of this chapter (Inter-Ethnic Relationships in Barrow).

An examination of the racial composition of household heads shows that Iñupiat heads of households became a minority by 1985. The proportion of Iñupiat household heads declined from 64 percent in 1978 to 47 percent in 1985. The large increase in non-Native households, and the higher incidence of mixed households, which tend to be headed by white males, resulted in this major change. (Table H in Appendix C includes a detailed table of the ethnicity of household heads in 1985).

Another trend measured between 1978 and 1985 is an increase in female household heads in the community. The proportion of women of all races who headed their households rose from 20 to 26 percent. Iñupiat women have increased from about one quarter (22 percent) to one-third (33 percent) of the total Iñupiat household heads in this period. A corresponding change has been very slight in households headed by non-Natives. The proportion of female heads has grown three points, from 16 percent to 19 percent, for non-Iñupiat households in the 1978-85 period.

The average age of household heads changed little from 1978 to 1985, continuing to be about 40 years (see Table I in Appendix

C). For both Native and non-Native household heads the fluctuation has not exceeded one year. Native heads average seven years older that their non-Native counterparts.

Between 1978 and 1985 the average size of households in Barrow has decreased from about four to about three persons. This trend results from a shrinking in the size of Native households, from 4.5 persons to 3.8 persons, while non-Native households increased slightly (Table 6).[14] The most direct changes in Barrow household size resulted from the pattern of migration, the generation of new households in the community in response to new housing construction (both NSB housing programs and private activity), and changes in the birth rates.

Table 6

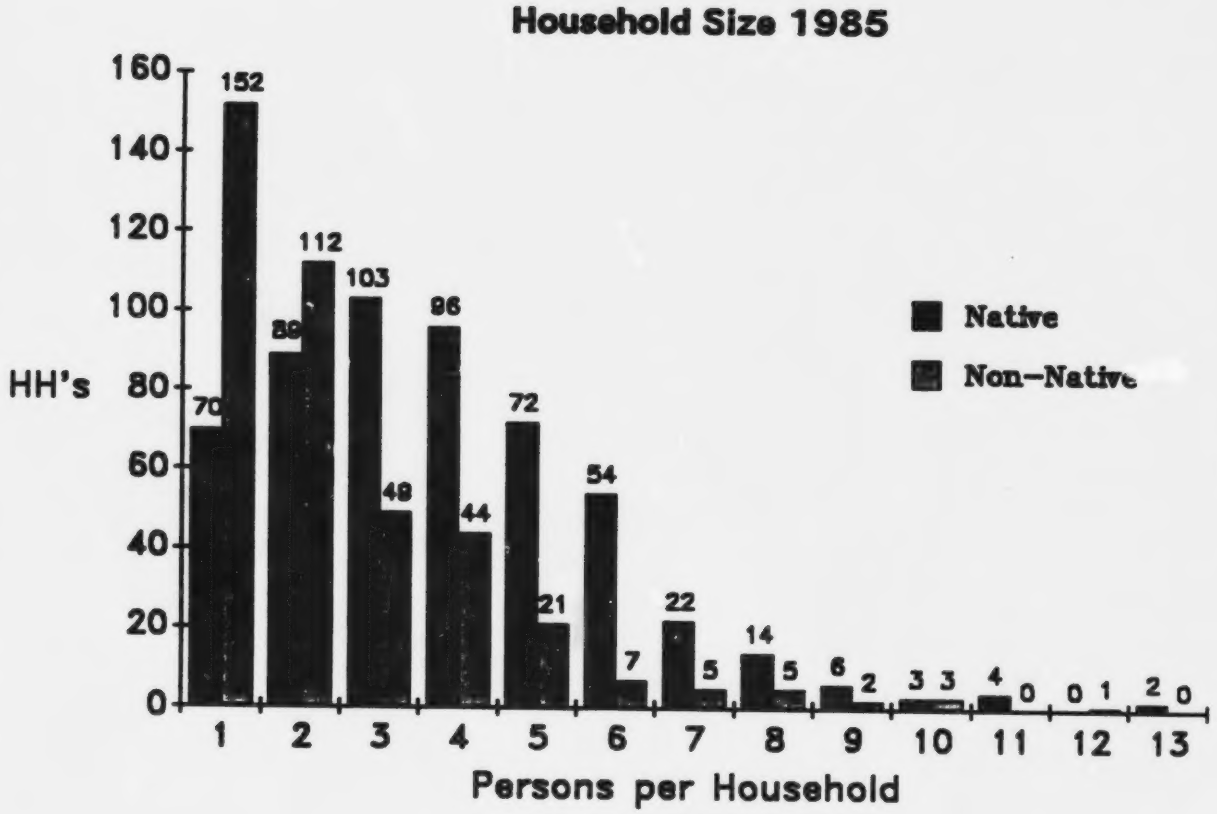
Average Household Size

	1978	1980	1985
Total	3.8	3.4	3.2
Native	4.5	4.0	3.8
Non-Native	2.0	2.4	2.4

Source: North Slope Borough surveys.

Native households are larger than those of non-Natives (Figure 6). There is a higher proportion of one- and two-person households among non-Natives. Native households of six persons are as common as three-person households among

Figure 6



Note: Native includes Iñupiat, Alaskan Indian, and Aleut.

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

non-Natives. Figures A-G in Appendix C provide a comparison of household size for the years 1978, 1980, and 1985.

A limited amount of information on the composition of households in Barrow is available from the results of the 1985 survey. We compiled the information on relationships within the household by number of generations present in the home. Due to the codes for household members utilized in the survey, four-generation households could not be enumerated, and no more than five generations could be reliably measured. For example, more generations may have been present in households that included individuals that were coded as "other relative" or "non-relative." We counted these categories as if they were equivalent to generations identified for the household in order not to introduce extraneous numbers. The results are the following:

One-generation households	435	(47%)
Two-generation households	426	(46%)
Three-generation households	66	(7%)
Five-generation households	2	(0%)
	929	

Number of Missing Observations = 6

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

In the one-generation households, 47 had other relatives present and 93 had non-relatives in residence. In two-generation family houses, 44 had other relatives staying there and 45 reported non-relatives. Of the three generation households, eight included other relatives and five had non-relatives.

Migration of Households

The migration of families is a regular feature of village life on the North Slope. Individuals and small groups frequently moved across the land, as we described above, and the population of settled communities was normally in a state of fluctuation as families, and parts of families, came and went. In describing population changes on the North Slope, and in Barrow in particular, we have focused on trends based on net results, which mask the ebb and flow that occurs on a more regular basis. The following discussion will illustrate the degree of fluctuation in the population over short time periods in the recent past, which have been intensified due to the changing physical development of communities and the special economic conditions that largely derive from their development.

Very sharp increases in migrations, both into and out of Barrow, occurred between 1975 and 1985 for both Native and non-Native households. Surveys sponsored by the NSB indicate that 43 percent of all 1980 households were new to the community since 1978, and 58 percent of the 1985 households immigrated between 1980 and 1985 (see Table 7 below). This figure compares with an average of between five and ten percent immigration in previous decades. The data for both of the survey years show a rather large number of Barrow families who were present in Barrow prior to 1960. In 1980, 297 (42 percent) of the families reported they had lived in Barrow since before 1960, and in 1985 the number was

264 (28 percent).[15] These counts probably refer to the time a relative in the family first came to Barrow, since they are higher than expected.

There were substantial migration levels in Barrow throughout the seven year period from 1978 to 1985: a net inmigration of 819 households, a net outmigration of 535 households, and the generation of 110 new households from families living in the community (Table 7).[16] In 1980 exactly half of the households (351) were not present two years earlier, and in 1985 only one-third of Barrow households (328) was present in 1980. As indicated by the population figures discussed above, the immigration of non-Native households is much more frequent than Native families by about a two to one ratio. Of 819 households which immigrated during the 1978-85 period, 536 (65 percent) were non-Native. The smaller size of the non-Native households would lead us to expect a larger number for this group, but the frequency of Native immigration is also quite high: 283 (net) Native households moved into Barrow during this period. This count does not include an additional 106 Native households that formed from existing Barrow families, which is 96 percent of all the newly formed households (i.e., those which were developed by members of prior resident households). This process of household formation represents 13 percent of the new households in 1980 and 10 percent of new households in 1985.

A similar trend is apparent regarding outmigration. Both Native and non-Native households emigrated out of Barrow in large

Table 7

Household Migration

	1978-80		1980-85	
Remaining Households				
Native	299		269	
Non-Native	52		59	
	351	(50%)	328	(35%)
Inmigrating Households				
Native	103		204	
Non-Native	201		340	
	304	(43%)	544	(58%)
Newly Generated Households				
Native	44		62	
Non-Native	3		1	
	47	(7%)	63	(7%)
Outmigrating Households				
Native	83		177	
Non-Native	107		197	
	190		374	

Note: Newly Generated Households includes new households that were formed by persons residing in another Barrow household in the previous survey year (i.e., they are not immigrants).

Source: North Slope Borough surveys.

numbers. Of 535 households that left Barrow between 1978 and 1985, nearly half (236, or 44 percent) were Native families. This proportion of outmigrating Native households cannot be explained solely as the result of the formation of new villages in the region, which was the primary trend for Iñupiat in Barrow during the 1970s, because the frequency of emigration continued at a significant level after 1980.

In 1985 more than one-third (237, or 35 percent) of the Barrow households had resided in the town all three years (1978, 1980, and 1985). Of these family households, 216, or 91 percent, were Native.[17] When newly generated households are added to this number, we estimate that about half of the Iñupiat individuals staying in Barrow households in 1978 were still living in the community seven years later. Thus we see that the significant trends in the growth of households in Barrow include both the immigration of new families and the emigration of former residents, Native and non-Native. During the seven year period, the immigration of Native households was almost half the immigration of non-Natives, but the emigration of Native households nearly equalled that of non-Natives.

Interethnic Relationships in Barrow

When we arrived in Barrow to begin research in the community, we were impressed by the large number of whites and other non-Iñupiat observed throughout the town. Riding in pickup trucks, driving cabs, eating in one of the several ethnic restaurants in town, we observed non-Iñupiat in many contexts outside the work situation, which is where we had grown accustomed to encountering them in prior visits to the community. During our research we learned that shared participation in community activities is an important index of interaction and acceptance between longer-term Barrow residents and the newer migrants. However, the first impression we recorded upon our arrival proved to be an accurate description of the extent of non-Iñupiat presence in Barrow. The following account is taken from our observations on the afternoon of our arrival on July 1, 1985:

> Arrived in Barrow on the morning plane, 11:45 a.m. There were two tour buses waiting to take the tourists downtown. A white lady had set up a table to sell Native artifacts and crafts in the lobby of the airport.
>
> We took a cab (owned by a white man) to the Polar Bear Day Care Center, which was located next to the apartment we had rented. There were ten kids there, mostly Caucasian, with two Filipinos and three Iñupiat. The Center has been open for a year and three months. In the winter months, there are more then thirty children there. The man who runs it, a white, just saw his wife and children off, back to Minnesota; he will be staying here another year. A young woman (Filipino?) is being trained as a manager. They have a tanning machine in the office, which they rent out to users. The manager drives a North Slope Borough vehicle.
>
> The man who let us in the apartment is black. He works in the shop for the Department of Sanitation, NSB (the same place where the husband of the young woman in the day care center works). He drove his own pick-up over to meet us.
>
> After settling in a bit, I went to take a reading of the water meter. I met a young man who lives in one of

the other buildings crammed onto this lot. There are about five apartments here, plus some old shipping crates serving as storage, and several vehicles (one old army truck-cable something; two trucks in parking; one small pick-up that appears to belong to one of the tenants). The man works as a plumber for the school. The building we are in is very well constructed, with panelling and windows that open. It was furnished by the school district, but the most advanced feature was the water system: each apartment was fitted with hot and cold running water, with the water passing through an earth filter before entering the apartment. The water is pumped out of the tank and through the filter before being sent to the apartments; each apartment has its own pump. There is a shower and electric dryer in our apartment. The building and lot are owned by two partners.[18] One is a school teacher who lives in Oregon for the summers.

We saw a fire as we were leaving; a small house was in flames not far away. The fire department had torched it, and it drew a large crowd. We walked over to the post office where we ran into several Iñupiat who were happy to see us. One older lady has been sick, in the hospital, and is remaining off work until after the Fourth of July celebration. Then she'll go back to work, where she was going to start an Iñupiaq program. There were nine employees in the post office (eight, plus the postmaster and someone else in training) as reported by the clerk. We saw four workers and all were Filipino. These are stable, permanent jobs that carry a substantial COLA (25%).

We walked down to the phone company and ordered a phone. Most of the time people are expected to buy their phone, but after some discussion we were able to rent one. We paid $42.50 for the hook-up (in the office; we brought the phone home and plugged it in ourselves) and $100.00 deposit. An Eskimo came in to pay his bill, which came to $247.23. He said there was a lot of talking going on (long distance).

Filipinos were very evident in Stuaqpak (as employees), as before. On the way in, we saw a notice posted for a dance in the Community Center sponsored by the Filipino American Society. Evidently, they have organized as a local chapter of the national organization and will be sponsoring their own activities on the Fourth of July. We saw a Filipino acquaintance inside, who appears not to be involved with this group. His wife and kids have moved down to San Diego, but he will stay and work. He

> said more Filipinos have come to town since we last met; the trend continues.

When we asked long time Barrowites about the recent changes they saw in the village, their answers would of course vary according to their age and circumstances. The most frequent and salient responses were the larger size of Barrow, the dust, and the ethnic diversity in the town. The latter observation refers to the very recent growth in populations of non-Iñupiat, non-white residents. "Barrow is a lot bigger now, but mostly there are a lot of different kinds of people here. There are a lot of Filipinos and they all really stick together." As the largest group of the new "Barrow ethnics," Filipinos are the most visible of the newer migrants. However, they are noted not simply because of their growing numbers but because they have moved into positions of employment throughout town. Most organizations in Barrow, large and small, have at least one or two Filipino workers and some have up to eight or twelve. Filipinos are very visible to Barrowites in some organizations serving the public, such as in Stuaqpak or the post office, which have relatively large proportions of regular Filipino employees.

In previous research in Barrow, we described the migration of Filipinos to the town (Smythe and Worl 1985:193-207). The first Filipino arrived in town in 1978, but most have come since 1980. Filipinos have been very successful in gaining employment, which can be attributed to their industrious work ethic and willingness to accept lower wages. They were frank in admitting that they came to Barrow because of the opportunity to make money, and they purposely did not want to take a larger role in the community because they did not feel it was proper for them, as outsiders, to do so. Often, individuals spoke as if they had an economic strategy which was to take a lower status job at a low pay, work hard, and begin looking for a better job. Some individuals held two or three jobs simultaneously, working their second and third jobs in the evenings or weekends. These individuals are most visible in the stores, working hours that are not popular with other Barrow residents.

Employers generally speak highly of their Filipino workers. They are very stable and dependable, appearing on schedule and working steadily at their job. Also, they will accept jobs with lower pay, without affecting their performance. These two factors, stability and willingness to work for a lower wage, comprise the niche which Filipinos have filled and explains their entry into Barrow. Another advantage which some Filipinos have is higher education, which enables them to gain employment in administrative positions within local government and other organizations Their familiarity with bureaucracy and facility with filing employment applications, in particular, is an advantage to them in acquiring jobs. Although occasionally an employer reported an exaggeration of an applicant's true experience and qualifications, it is evident that the new bureaucratic process can favor Filipinos over other local residents. An Iñupiaq manager said he is required to hire individuals with the stated qualifications for positions in accordance with the agency's personnel policies. Often Iñupiat do not qualify.

Although concern over decreasing employment opportunities for local residents is growing in the community, what has made a lasting impression on the Iñupiat is the Filipino practice of non-interaction. "They all really stick together," and in doing so they reject the larger community, in a way, and censure it by cutting off interaction (as if practicing an avoidance). The Iñupiat attitude of mistrust and antagonism towards this group is similar in kind, if not degree, to the relationship between Iñupiat and transient whites in the late 1970s, who were reported to "never expand their relationship with the community beyond economic exploitation" (Worl Associates 1978:133). This comparison is not lost on Barrow whites who were present in that earlier period; as one commented to us, "It's nice to have somebody else called 'honky.'"

Some Filipinos are working to improve their image in the town. In late 1984 the Filipinos organized a Barrow Chapter of the Filipino American Society and sponsored a Christmas party to which the community was invited. A notice was published in June, 1985, in the weekly paper, describing the organization as a non-profit and one which has made contributions to the community "such as KBRW, High School Talent Scout Contest, and AWIC. We wish to continue to support other organizations in the future in this community of Barrow." The names of 58 officers and members were listed. Over the Fourth of July weekend in the following month, they sponsored a dance in the community center and aired open invitations over the radio station as well as with posted notices.

Filipinos may be found at many socioeconomic levels in Barrow, which results in part from their strategy of starting at low occupational levels and moving up, and also from their higher educational attainments as we described above. Many of their jobs are in the service sector, which are more stable and longer lasting, but lower paying, than contract positions.

In addition to working in established organizations, they have been successful in operating their own enterprises. Twenty businesses were registered under Filipino names in 1984, including barber shops, bookkeeping services, janitorial services, and restaurants. Although none of these is a major business, in this activity they resemble many of the resident white migrants who also established businesses in town. The Filipinos, in some cases using the strategy of charging less for their labor, were able to acquire contracts which previously had gone to resident white entrepreneurs. For example, one white man had the janitorial contract for the school district; but after a Filipino successfully underbid him, he realized he could not compete with them and got out of the business. He subsequently started several other businesses in town.

Other new ethnic groups have been successful in using this approach--winning contracts by underbidding existing businesses. A small group of Yugoslavians have gained construction contracts in this way during the past several years. They have also built three apartment structures which provide them with rental income. Other activities supplement this construction work; one individual has opened a pizza parlor. Not having a lot of education, and often more comfortable in their own language, the "Yugs" have not acquired positions in other organizations in town.

Two other small ethnic populations are associated with restaurants in downtown Barrow. Sam and Lee's, a Korean establishment, and Pepe's, which serves Mexican food, employ individuals recruited directly from the country of origin. The workers are given housing by their restaurant manager, and they speak little or no English. There is little association between these groups and the community outside of the establishments, where friendly service is the norm. The small, informal and plain cafe-like setting of Sam and Lee's is more appealing to local residents, including Iñupiat youth, than the highly decorated Mexican restaurant, which appeals more to the local organizations and businesses as a meeting place, as well as to tourists and other outsiders visiting Barrow.

Earlier work in Barrow by Worl Associates (1978) and Worl, Worl, and Lonner (1981) described a change in the non-Native population from one comprised primarily of white transients in 1976-1977 to one with a significant component of permanent residents in 1980. This trend of change continued over the next five years, and in 1985 we found that most non-Natives are permanent residents. We define permanent residency as present in the community for two years or longer. We interviewed one man, living with his spouse and three children, who stated the common reason for coming to Barrow, "There are unlimited opportunities here." He is a mechanic for the borough, and in his spare time he reconditions vehicles that he acquires for little cash outlay. He plans to open a vehicle repair shop, and his wife, who is a beautician, is contemplating starting her own business. Economic opportunity draws migrants to Barrow, as in the past, but more often now they decide to make Barrow their home for at least a year or two, and often longer. Many of these individuals find Barrow to be an open, friendly community, which motivates them to remain and contributes to the perception that opportunities abound.

There is greater diversity within the white population than was the case five years ago. There are several segments within this group, including white collar administrative and managerial personnel in local government and business organizations; skilled professionals and semiprofessionals in the schools, hospital, and other service organizations; a class including entrepreneurs, civil servants, and skilled or unskilled workers and laborers that have married Iñupiat from Barrow; and younger, unskilled or semiskilled, primarily single, male individuals.

The white collar and professional groups can be divided into two general types: those who are here in skilled positions and view Barrow as similar to a small town anywhere, and those who are here to draw their checks and who complain about being beyond the boundaries of civilization. It was primarily an increase in the former type that Worl, Worl, and Lonner (1982) reported had increased in the period between 1977 and 1981. This corresponds with the period of greatest growth in the staffs of the larger organizations in town (for example, see the description of growth in social service programs in chapter eight). By the summer of 1985 the class of special consultants and advisors to the NSB had disappeared. We met one man who humorously referred to himself as "the last borough consultant." He worked on the village dredge projects, which were completed in the fall.

The permanent population of white individuals and families lead lives in Barrow similar to the life-styles they would follow in any smaller community. In addition to work, they engage in dinner parties, card games, exercise and sporting events, and visiting activities. Groups get together several nights per week for games of poker, pinochle, and bridge. New facilities at the high school include a full-sized basketball court, an indoor track, swimming pool, and weight room. Regular evening classes are held in exercise rooms for aerobics, Tae Kwon Do, and other activities. These facilities are used heavily by whites and Iñupiat, providing substantial opportunities for common interaction and interchange not available previously. Large turnouts to home high school basketball games are additional activities involving white and Iñupiat residents. Camping along the coast and fishing inland is also available to residents. One of the local air services provides sports fishing packages to a camp inland. The "Fisherman's Special" offers group rates for three, six, or nine people in the summer.

As described above, there has been a substantial increase in the number of mixed families in the last five years. Among this subpopulation is a small group of long term non-Native Barrow residents that have achieved positions of influence in the community as heads of local organizations and entrepreneurs. These individuals first came to the area as employees of NARL, teachers, or transient construction crews and were joined by subsequent migrants who also married into Barrow families. Members of this group were active in the development of competitive leagues in basketball and baseball, which are significant as common points of interest and activity for Iñupiat and whites. There is extensive participation in these team sports, which serve as an important cohesive force between Iñupiat and white.[19] Members of this group also helped establish the annual spring festival of games and competitions in the community.

These local residents have taken a leading role in organizing civic organizations such as the Lions Club and the Barrow Chamber of Commerce in the recent past. A debate between the candidates for borough mayor in 1984, sponsored by the chamber, was credited by some observers with changing the course of the election so that a non-incumbent eventually won. The activities of the chamber in promoting local enterprise have attracted the participation of managers of other organizations and businesses in the community, including the Native corporations.

In August, the Lions Club and the chamber of commerce cosponsored a series of events in remembrance of Will Rogers and Wiley Post, and Claire Okpeaha who brought the first report of the crash to Barrow.[20] Among other activities, the first annual Claire Okpeaha Run and a Polar Bear Club dip in the Arctic Ocean were held. The Claire Okpeaha Run, in memory of the Iñupiaq's dash to Barrow from the crash site 50 years ago, was scheduled to be a race from the site of the memorial to Browerville, but was held along the spit because rough weather prevented the boats from landing down the coast. In the other event, about 60 people were inducted into the Polar Bear Club after they dove into the Arctic Ocean in front of Mattie's Cafe. These individuals received certificates to prove their deed. A complementary dinner was given at the Lions Club Hall. Guests from the Oklahoma legislature, the Federal Aviation Administration, and Lions Club attended with local residents.

Another subpopulation of whites (young, single men) exhibit some similar characteristics to the white transients of the 1970s, but do not display the antagonistic and derogatory attitudes towards Iñupiat characteristic of the earlier group. These individuals seek jobs in Barrow, but employment is not their only interest in the community; they enjoy living here.

> Two young men were talking about getting jobs in Barrow. Each found it frustrating to be put off by the bureaucracy--

> only this time it was the Iñupiaq bureaucracy. That is, one man complained to the other that after learning of a specific job, he was told by an Eskimo to fill out a form which he did.
>
> Then, after waiting a week for more information, he checked back and found the form had not been processed; and he had to begin again. The other talked about jobs being postponed. The latter wondered if someone else already had been earmarked for the job and he was just left hanging. However, both commented on how much they liked living in the area (one had worked in construction in Wainwright for six months or so), and especially liked the potential opportunities that Barrow (thus far) has provided. In no instance did frustration with the job search provide any negative commentary on working for Iñupiat 'bosses.'

Another young man, about 20, first came to Barrow to stay with his aunt, a professional who has lived in Barrow for seven years. He left Barrow, and then returned because of its small-town atmosphere:

> It was clear that he really liked Barrow. He said it is a small town where people are close 'like family,' which is what he likes about it. It took six months before he was accepted by the local Native population, which was a watershed for him. Before that they did not know if he was going or coming from the community. He said he played basketball, and lifted weights, which helped him get to know local Eskimos. Also, he roomed for awhile with an Eskimo from Atqasuk, and met a lot of his friends. After about six months, people began to greet him on the street; now he is always being waved at and greeted by people (Natives) on the street, which makes him feel very much at home and close to the people here.

This person has had a number of jobs since he returned, including working at a restaurant, the radio station, a Native corporation, and an airline. He works as a laborer, night watchman, and other unskilled positions. This pattern is characteristic of this group of whites: they do not have a college education or developed work skill. They do not make a lot of money in their job, but enjoy the lifestyle of the community.

Like the majority of other white residents, these individuals live their lives in Barrow as they would in any community. They like to participate in sports and utilize the excellent, new facilities in the high school (and the recreation center, which opened in the fall). They associate with their friends, play cards, and have parties. They may go camping, hunting or fishing inland.

Endnotes

1. Overland access to the settlement at Nuvuk was blocked when the navy began construction of a base north of Utqiagvik in 1944.

2. The name of this facility was later changed to the Naval Arctic Research Laboratory (NARL).

3. We noted a discrepancy in the figures reported on different 1980 census tapes; we have used the figures from the more detailed tape (Tape File 4BP) in this table, and in Appendix C.

4. 1960 and 1970 population figures for Barrow show a substantial increase in the number of Native individuals in the younger ages as compared with older generations, indicating a higher rate of birth in those years. Between 1970 and 1980, however, this trend reversed itself. Table 4 below, and Tables A, B, and C in Appendix C, display the available population data for these years.

5. Tables A and B in Appendix C provide comparative population figures for Barrow during this decade, showing differences in the growth of Native and non-Native populations.

6. The non-Native population resident in traditional communities in the region increased 200 percent in this decade. In 1970, there were 238, or eight percent, non-Natives residing on the Slope. At the end of the decade, the number of non-Natives in the region was 699, or 18 percent of the North Slope population. During the same period, the development of the oil fields at Prudhoe Bay and associated areas occurred as well as the construction of the trans-Alaskan pipeline, which runs from the Prudhoe Bay field to Valdez. This industrial activity brought thousands of non-Natives into isolated work sites in the region. In 1970, there were 476 oil industry and military personnel reported in the region (Underwood et al. 1978:13). This figure increased dramatically to 8,561 in July of 1975 and to a peak of 12,614 in July of 1976 during construction of the pipeline (ibid.). Military personnel numbers were very small (223) in comparison to the oil industry count. The estimated population figures declined to 3,898 in 1980, but increased in subsequent years. Special censuses by the North Slope Borough in 1981 (6,620) and the State of Alaska in 1982 (6,306) show recent levels of populations at oil-related work sites in the region (Knapp and Nebesky 1983:11).

7. This figure for the proportion of Native population in Barrow between the ages of 20 and 60 includes Iñupiat, Indians and Aleuts from Alaska, and Indians from the contiguous 48 states.

8. These figures are derived from the results of the 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey sponsored by the North Slope Borough. "Native" refers to Alaska Native (Iñupiat, Indian, Aleut). In analyzing the age data, we did not include individuals whose age was recorded as zero. This may have resulted in a lower frequency of persons aged under five, since some of these persons were infants. In keeping with our concern for reliability throughout this study, we consistently chose to be conservative in analyzing the various survey data.

9. In our calculations, we classified racially mixed households as Native in recognition of the tendency for most such persons to be longer-term residents who participate in the life of the community to a greater degree.

10. The 1980 data did not include information on race, but we compared households with known race data from 1978 and, for those remaining unidentified households, we used key informants to complete the coding. We are confident that this procedure provided accuracy suitable for comparative analysis on proportions, but not in absolute terms; hence we have not included 1980 frequencies in the tables.

11. The development of social services in the community is described in chapter eight.

12. In this discussion, several couples of the opposite sex who are residing together, and who are not otherwise related, are classified as married. This included couples living together in pairs, some with children, or with other family members. Also, six white individuals with Eskimo children are counted as intermarriages. Some of these were verified marriages, which we assumed was the case for all six, but it is possible that a small number may be cases of placement of Eskimo children in the home by social services agencies.

13. Participation in the BIA programs has declined in the recent period as high schools were built in North Slope communities (in the 1970s), and higher educational opportunities are pursued more often at the state university.

14. Earlier work on the Slope (see Smythe and Worl 1985; Luton 1985) has shown that household size fluctuates constantly over time and under different economic conditions. These findings indicate that household size is a very imprecise indicator of change in household composition and, derivatively, Inupiaq social structure. Also, the form and size of Iñupiat nuclear family households varies greatly, rather than being confined to a single structural type (see Spencer 1976 for similar findings in Barrow).

15. The full results of the question responses in the two survey years are as follows:

Length of Residence in Barrow

1980 Survey

Year	Number	%
1975-80	217	31
1970-74	34	5
1960-69	32	4
Before 1960	297	42
No Data	126	18
	706	100

1985 Survey

Year	Number	%
1984-85	131	14
1980-83	185	10
1975-79	89	10
1970-74	30	3
1965-69	32	3
1960-64	49	5
1955-59	49	5
1950-54	43	5
1945-49	37	4
Before 1945	135	14
No Data	155	100
	735	100

16. The net outmigration figure includes 17 households that were not present in subsequent years due to deaths in the household. There were five deaths between 1978 and 1980, and 12 deaths between 1980 and 1985. All were Inupiaq households.

17. This calculation represents those households with continuous residence in the community; it does not include the generation of new households out of members of those present in the previous survey year, nor 29 households that left Barrow between 1978 and 1980 and returned in 1985.

18. Later, we learned the lot is restricted and is leased by our landlord.

19. The patterns of participation in these recreational activities are described in chapter eight.

20. Will Rogers and Wiley Post were killed when their small plane crashed in a lagoon twelve miles south of Barrow on August 15, 1935.

CHAPTER FIVE

ECONOMY

Development of Local Economic Opportunities

North Slope Borough

The most profound influence on the North Slope economy resulted from a single political act--establishment of the North Slope Borough in 1972. The borough structure gave the Iñupiat the means to tap into revenues from development of fossil fuels in the region, both on- and offshore, and it also gave them the political standing in Juneau and Washington to increase their access to state and federal sources of revenue, which amounted to more than $33 million.

NSB expenditures of tax dollars have benefited companies and workers both inside and outside the region. The NSB industrial property tax base at Prudhoe Bay and along the trans-Alaska pipeline was assessed at $5 billion in 1979, increasing to $14 billion in 1985. NSB annual property tax revenues were $35 million in FY 1979 and had reached $152 million by FY 1983. They comprised the leverage the borough needed to borrow through the municipal bond market on Wall Street. Borough officials intended to use these funds for needed facilities in the villages, such as housing, schools, medical clinics, fire stations, roads, sanitation, and water supplies, and to distribute the revenue over time through the construction jobs provided by the Capital Improvements Program. Borough Mayor Eben Hopson envisioned a CIP modernization program of $500 million and budgeted half that amount during his administration until his death in 1979. Later administrations accelerated CIP plans with major improvements in all villages (see Figure 7).

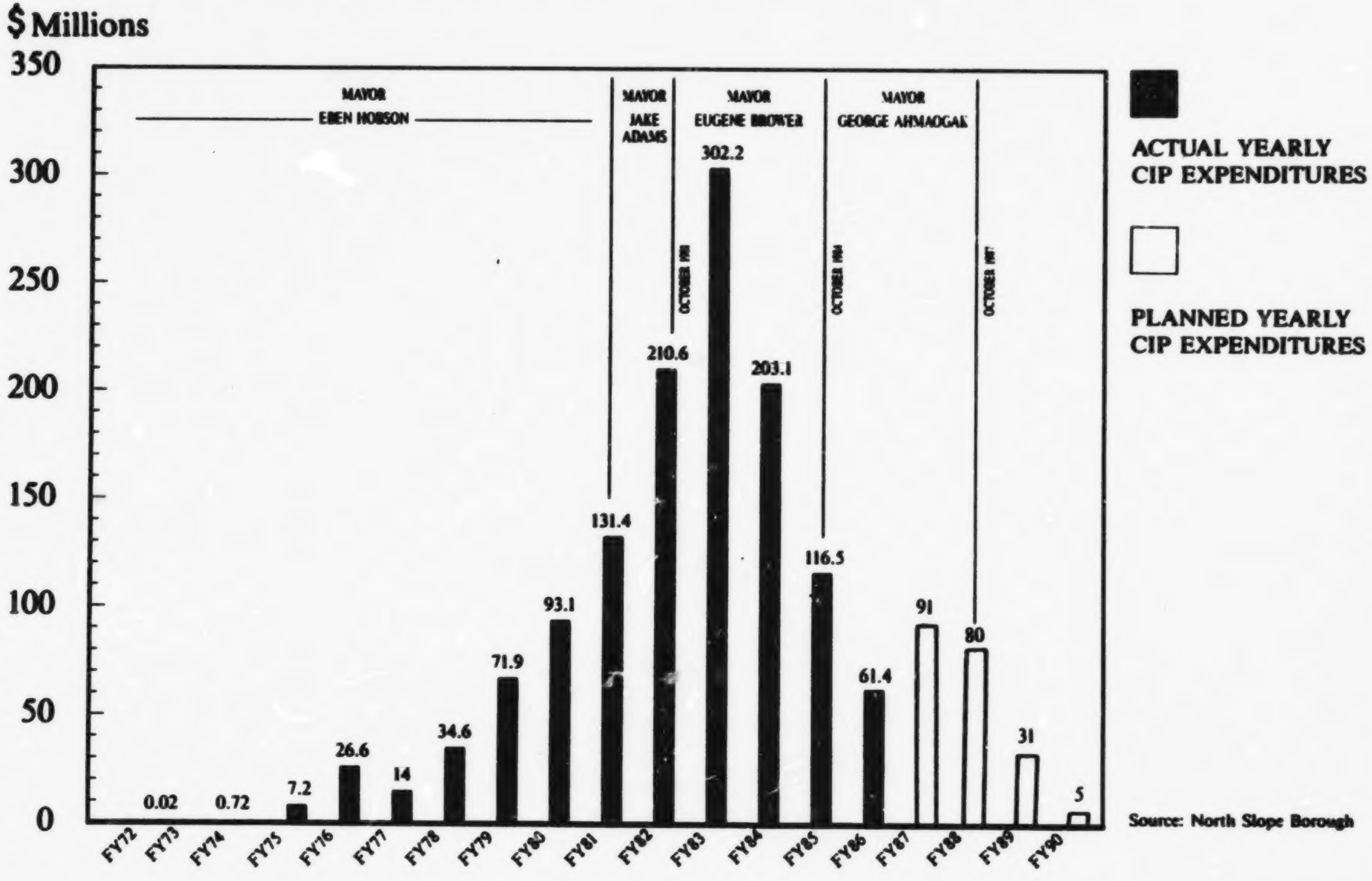
The bonding powers of the Borough enabled it to get around a so-called "tax cap" by which the Alaska State Legislature had attempted to put a ceiling on the borough's taxing powers based on population. In effect, this would have limited the amount of operating revenues and associated jobs. The legislature failed in this effort, however, and borough officials decided to use municipal bonds to fund its CIP and create jobs on construction projects.

Admittedly, it was an expensive way to create jobs. In 1980 each million dollars of CIP expenditures created about five jobs. On average three of these were borough jobs, and two were contractor jobs. About 3.3 of these were jobs taken by Iñupiat, and 1.6 taken by non-Natives (Knapp 1985a:10).

Employment trends in the borough jobs were evident by 1977. Iñupiat women tended to fill full-time clerical and record-keeping jobs within the borough administration itself, participating in the work force almost to as great a degree as women nationally (Kleinfeld 1981:9). Iñupiat males, however, preferred seasonal, high-paying construction jobs that did not require them to leave the community.

FIGURE 7

NORTH SLOPE BOROUGH YEARLY CIP EXPENDITURES



Source: North Slope Borough

By June 1983 the NSB CIP contained 244 projects with authorized expenditures of $809 million. Included in those plans were $70 million to be spent in the borough's Kuparuk Industrial Center (KIC) developed in conjunction with the Kuparuk oil and gas field. By 1985 accumulated CIP actual expenditures were $1.2 billion, with an additional $206 million projected through 1990, bringing the total expected level of funding to $1.4 billion.

Local government employment in the region increased from 19 in 1972 to 1,183 in 1979 (Knapp 1985b:E-37). Total employment on the North Slope outside the Prudhoe Bay Industrial District grew from 977 in 1970 to 3,627 in 1979 (Knapp 1985b:E-34). By 1980 the major source of jobs throughout the region was the borough government. Borough jobs employed more than half of the Iñupiat females working in the region. Employment of Iñupiat males in borough operations was about half of the proportion in CIP jobs (direct and contractor) (Knapp 1985a:7). Knapp (ibid.) estimated that in 1984, 71 percent of all employment on the North Slope either directly or indirectly depended on borough spending, and about 34 percent of total employment was directly attributable to NSB CIP and contractor CIP employment.

In 1980 direct NSB employment had reached 823, which increased to 969 by 1983 and then declined to 862 in 1985 (Table 8). Local government employment in Barrow, primarily the borough and the school district, accounted for more than 50 percent of all employment in 1980 and 1985 (Figures 8 and 9).

Table 8

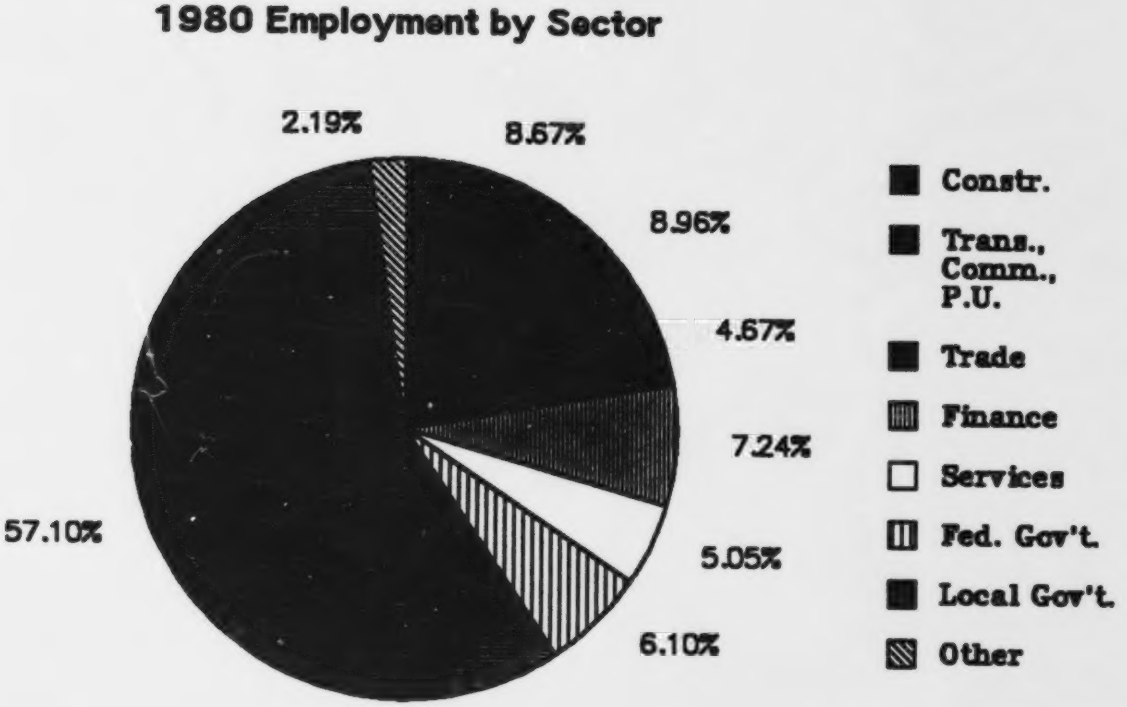
Change in North Slope Borough Employment 1980-1985

Department/Unit	Number of Employees		
	1980	1983	1985
Public Safety	51	57	53
Fire Department	-	-	5
Search and Rescue	-	-	9
Public Works	42	36	39
Utilities/Transit	47	59	94
Service Area No. 10	59	108	75
Barrow Roads	36	54	63
Barrow Sanitation	22	17	25
Operations and Maintenance	11	6	7
Mayor's Office	20	35	21
Administration/Finance	40	59	62
Planning Department	15	25	35
Assessing-Physical Plant	16	16	-
Environmental Protection	5	5	11
Health Department	72	114	121
Housing Department	21	54	69
CIP Projects			
Kaktovik Housing	22	33	-
Barrow Housing - Blackstock	119	98	40
Barrow Sewage Treatment Plant-F.M.A.A.	55	44	52
Public Works	-	93	81
North Slope Village Construction	159	47	-
TOTALS	823	969	862

CIP employees, totaling 356 in 1980 pay period (43%).
CIP employees, totaling 324 in 1983 pay period (33%).
CIP employees, totaling 173 in 1985 pay period (20%).

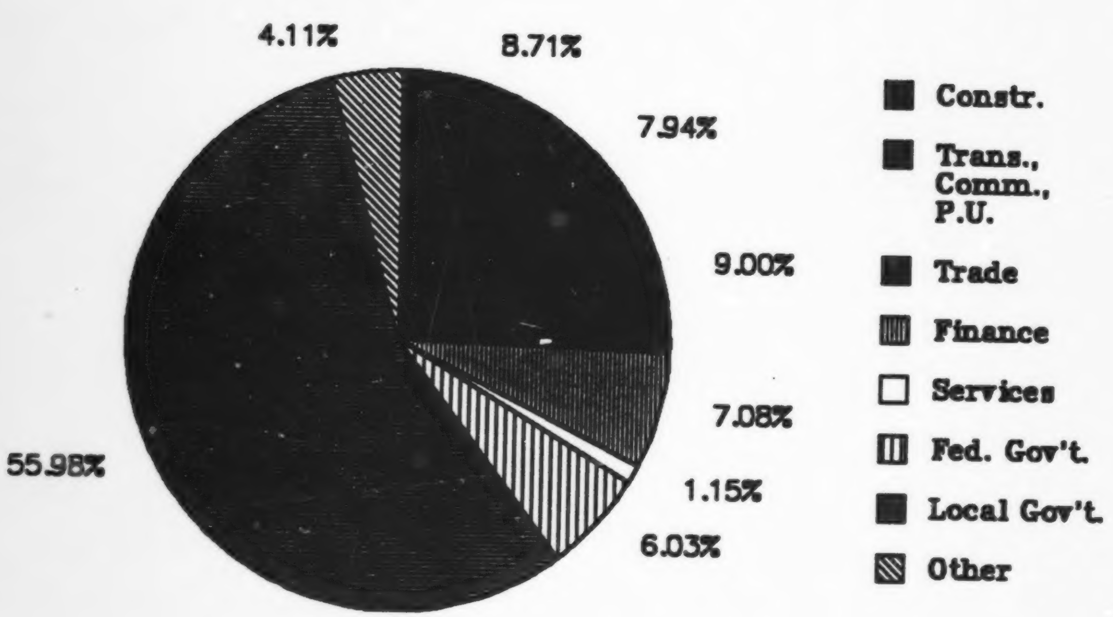
Source: North Slope Borough paycheck register.
1980: pay period ending July 12, 1980 (McBeath 1981:70)
1983: pay period ending July 29, 1983 (NSB)
1985: pay period ending July 20, 1985 (NSB)

Figure 8



Source: North Slope Borough survey.

Figure 9



Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

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By 1984 the borough's bonded indebtedness had reached $1.2 billion. The idea of a bonded indebtedness of $104,410 for each of the seven thousand people of the North Slope, along with an increasing discontent about the number of CIP contracts going to outside firms rather than local companies, precipitated a political crisis in the borough. The amount expended on CIP contracts going to nonlocal firms increased from $11.6 million in 1980 to more than $90 million in 1982 (Table 9).

In October, 1984, George Ahmaogak was elected NSB mayor, vowing to wind down CIP spending to a level of $5 million by 1990. At a 1985 private enterprise conference in Barrow, Ahmaogak stated that the borough "cannot continue to be the one primary employer of North Slope residents." He estimated that between 450 and 900 full-time jobs created by the CIP program would be lost by 1990 and urged that the loss be made up by the private sector.

The Private Sector

Beginning in the mid-1970s, CIP efforts generated additional local employment in Barrow in support services, wholesale, and trade sectors, and CIP salaries generated additional retail services and trade. The business and managerial skills of the Iñupiat have already been tapped by ASRC and the village corporations. They have set up a number of business enterprises (e.g., fuel distributorships, a lumber yard, mechanical shops, and

Table 9

North Slope Borough CIP Contracts, 1980-1984

Year	Description	Total Value
1984	Local-Native	8,237,022.00
1984	Local Non-Native	93,034.00
1984	Non-local	38,370,146.00
	Total	$ 46,700,202.00
1983	Local-Native	52,828,505.07
1983	Local-Non-Native	103,225.00
1983	Non-local	77,904,875.00
	Total	$130,836,605.00
1982	Local-Native	41,391,129.00
1982	Local-Non-native	632,044.00
1982	Non-local	90,171,471.00
	Total	$132,194,644.00
1981	Local Native	13,900,259.00
1981	Local Non-Native	-
1981	Non-local	22,863,024.00
	Total	$ 36,763,283.00
1980	Local-Native	551,930.00
1980	Local Non-Native	-
1980	Non-local	11,663,847.00
	Total	$ 12,215,777.00

Source: North Slope Borough records.

joint-venture construction firms). The Native corporations may have overtaxed Iñupiat entrepreneurship (Kleinfeld 1981:25) and left the opportunities open for the non-Iñupiat to enter business.

NSB surveys of Barrow suggest that local employment may have increased slightly from 1980 to 1985.[1] As described above, local government employment retained nearly the same percentage of jobs in 1985 as in 1980. The number of trade jobs, however, went from 49 to 94 (Table 10 and Figure 10; also see Tables J and K in Appendix C for detailed information by employer). Service jobs, on the other hand, decreased from 53 to 12 during the same period. These employment totals can only illustrate trends, however, and are not definitive. In the 1985 survey, for example, 319 respondents recorded as employed did not list an employer and as a result could not be included in the sector totals.

The number of businesses has risen in recent years, but there was a sharp drop in 1985 as shown in Table 11. Most of the businesses are located in Barrow, so the decline cannot be explained as the withdrawal of outside contractors. Overall the number of licenses issued to businesses based in Barrow dropped from 204 in 1984 to 152 in 1985. This trend, combined with the generally low level of employment for most local businesses, indicates that the private sector will not compensate for falling employment as CIP spending declines. The situation may cause the Native corporations to diversify and develop other economic opportunities. Another possibility is for UIC to begin to develop its landholdings.

Table 10

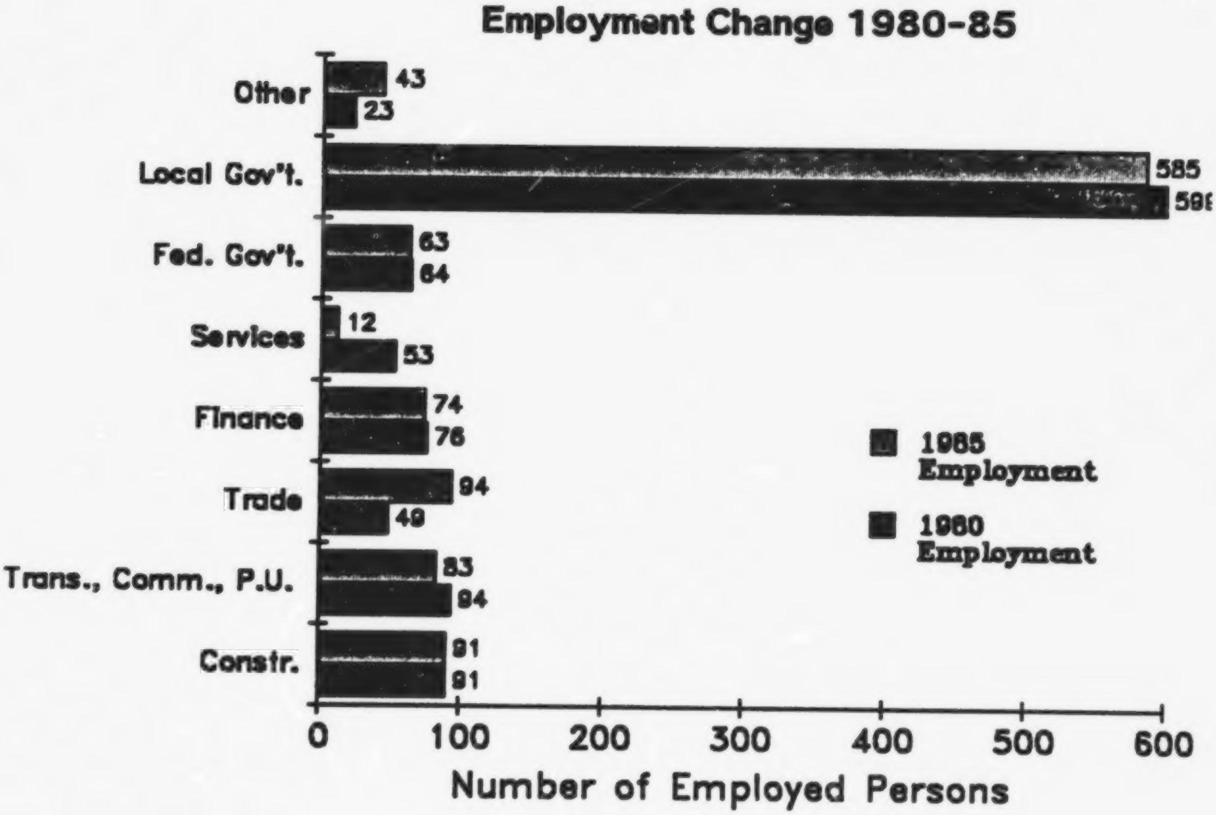
Barrow Employment by Sector

Employment Sector	1980 Number	1980 Percent	1985 Number	1985 Percent
Mining	15	1.4	9	.9
Construction	91	8.7	67	6.6
Trans., Comm., P.U.	94	9.0	83	8.1
Trade	49	4.7	94	9.2
Finance	76	7.2	74	7.3
Services	53	5.0	12	1.2
Federal Govt.	64	6.1	63	6.2
State Govt.	8	.8	20	1.9
Local Govt.	599	57.1	585	57.3
Unknown			14	1.3
Totals	1,049	100.0	1,021	100.0

Note: 1985 figures are lower than actual employment levels, due to under-reporting in the survey.

Source: North Slope Borough surveys.

Figure 10



Source: North Slope Borough surveys.

Table 11

Barrow Business Licenses

Business Sector	1983	1984	1985
Construction	20	30	18
Finance	3	3	3
Services	58	88	59
Trade	37	59	36
Trans.,Comm., P.U.	11	18	11
Non-profit	7	7	7
Unallocated	32	24	-
Total	168	229	134

Source: City of Barrow Registration List.

Employment Patterns

A NSB housing and employment survey in Barrow during the summer of 1985 reported 1,340 individuals of all ages were employed. Between the ages of 16 and 75, the numbers are 1,277 employed individuals and 768 unemployed persons, an unemployment rate of 37.6 percent. Of these, 740 (58 percent) were male and 537 (42 percent) were female. 518, or 41 percent, of the employed persons were Native and 759, or 59 percent, were non-Native. There were 616 unemployed Native residents, comprising 80 percent of the unemployed population, compared to 152, or 20 percent, non-Natives.

Table 10 (above) gives the breakdown of the employers of 1,021 Barrowites employed during the survey months of June-July 1985. The largest employer in Barrow is the NSB (471 Barrow workers were reported) and the NSB School District (100 persons were reported). Table 12 provides the total employment for the borough in the region during the same period. Slightly more than half was Iñupiat.

The survey data also indicate that many jobs lasted less than six months or less than a year. Of the 1,021 persons working in Barrow, nearly 60 percent works more than 30 hours a week and another 16.9 percent more than 40 hours a week. Most people (863 or 86.9%) work in Barrow itself. Less than one percent has jobs at Prudhoe Bay, supporting the contention that oilfield jobs in Prudhoe Bay provide little employment to Iñupiat. Out of the 1,420 total reported employed population, 301 responded they had held another job during the past year.

The rate of participation of Iñupiat females in the wage economy of the North Slope has increased dramatically since the formation of the NSB (Kleinfeld 1981:18). This can be attributed to several factors. The communal sharing of child-care tasks has traditionally enabled women to participate in other forms of work, including subsistence activities. The higher efficiency of subsistence practices today has reduced the need of women to participate, enabling more of them to seek cash jobs. The jobs which the women obtained tended to be in the general operation and administrative areas. The jobs held by women have not been

Table 12

North Slope Borough Employment by Race

Department	Number of Employees	Caucasian	Eskimo	Filipino	Other	Percent Eskimo Hire
Public Safety	53	51	1*	1	-	2
Fire Dept.	5	4	1	-	-	20
Search & Rescue	9	6	3	-	-	33
Public Works - CIP	81	34	47	-	-	58
Public Works	39	18	16	3	2	41
Utilities/Transit	94	25	66	3	-	70
Service Area 10	75	53	17	1	4	23
Barrow Roads	63	10	53	-	-	84
Barrow Sanitation	25	9	7	9	-	28
Mayor's Office	21	5	16	-	-	76
Admin. & Finance	62	13	48	-	1	77
Planning	35	11	24	-	-	69
Operations & Maintenance Central	7	1	5	1	-	71
E.P.O.	11	6	4	1	-	36
Health Dept.	121	54	57	10	-	47
Housing	69	19	34	15	1	49
Blackstock, CIP	40	6	30	4	-	75
F.M.A.A., CIP	52	21	30	-	1	57
TOTAL	862	346	459	48	9	53

*Nome

Source: North Slope Borough (pay period ending July 20, 1985).

affected to any significant degree by the downturn in the North Slope economy. Rather, it is the jobs held by Iñupiat males in the CIP that have been severely curtailed.

Subsistence Production

Barrow: A Mixed Economy

Integration of the capital and subsistence economies in the minds of the Iñupiat is an empirical reality. This view was poignantly emphasized by a recent question posed by a whaling captain. He wanted to know whether he could deduct his donations to the two annual community feasts at Thanksgiving and Christmas as a charitable contribution on his income tax. He believed that he should be able to place a monetary value on the subsistence resources he donated as well as the value of the commercial foods for which he had receipts. Another individual was fearful that he would have to report as income the value of subsistence resources he was given in exchange for professional services he provided a hunter. He noted that had he been paid in cash for the same services, he would have had to report it as income in his tax return.

Subsistence production costs have accelerated as modern hunting technology and supplies have replaced most traditional equipment and supplies. Financial costs are incurred even when traditional equipment is used. For example, skin boats, which are still used in spring whaling, represent a high capital investment and operating expense. If a whaling captain is not able to obtain ugruk skins through his own hunting efforts, which in itself is an expensive venture, he must purchase at least six skins at a cost of $75 each and the sinew for an additional $150. He must also construct or purchase the wooden frame.[2] In addition, the captain contracts with 10 women to sew the skins on his umiaq frame, for which they are paid a total of $500. This sum is paid in addition to the traditional shares to which they are entitled if the captain harvests a whale.

Iñupiat hunters in Barrow have been able to purchase powerful new equipment, such as larger outboard motors, boats, and snowmobiles, with their increased income earnings. The utilization of modern equipment, however, has allowed even the full-time wage earner to spend considerable periods subsistence hunting. With rapid transportation he can hunt after work and on weekends in addition to his extended vacation period. Distances that formerly took a day or more to cover now can be travelled in several hours by snowmobile or in considerably less time if a charter plane is used. On the one hand, cash is needed to purchase the equipment and supplies but, on the other, modern supplies and equipment allow the wage earner to continue his participation in subsistence either through his direct involvement in the activity or through the support of a subsistence hunter. The social and economic relationship between a wage earner and a subsistence hunter is an adaptation in the traditional system that will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapters.

The utilization of modern technology in subsistence pursuits has increased transportation efficiency without necessarily improving harvest efficiency except for the use of fishing nets. A change associated with the utilization of larger and more expensive technology is the increasing dependence on the credit system to purchase expensive equipment. Credit, of course, is predicated on access to a stable income. Whether the hunter will be able to continue using expensive equipment depends on continued wage employment.

A recent study prepared for the State of Alaska (The McDowell Group et al. 1985) found that the level of expenditures on equipment, supplies, and transportation in support of subsistence was significantly higher in rural areas in contrast to urban centers. In districts with low average income and high food prices, households spent as much as $2,000 annually in support of their subsistence activities. The survey also found that in the Barrow/Kotzebue district the average annual subsistence expenditures for households engaged in subsistence was $631.00 for equipment and supplies and $944.69 for transportation costs.[3]

The costs reported by the study represent average household expenditures. Our data suggest that household costs expended for subsistence are concentrated at the high and the low ends of the scale rather than in the median range. Costs are substantially higher for those households that support hunters who reside in another household, which in turn have substantially lower costs since they depend on wage earners and expend very little of their own money on subsistence costs. Other households may report that they do not participate in subsistence pursuits, and their contributions to subsistence ventures may not be reported. These households may in actuality contribute varying amounts to a number of different households, such as to purchase ammunition or gas.

Such contributions are characteristic of elders or single women heads of households who are not active hunters but have access to stable income. Their financial support may insure that they receive subsistence shares. For example, one woman helped buy a snowmachine for her son, a three-wheeler for a grandson, and a new Johnson motor for her son-in-law "cause they need it in hunting time, they were short of money." She also buys gas and ammunition for her son when he is not working. She contributes cash to a whaling captain and to a seal hunter, and she is assured of receiving a share. "You know those people, when you help them, and they got a big whale, its always a bigger share."

Subsistence income is reflected in the amount of resources harvested and the amount of cash earned through the sale of resources and arts and craft production. The data relating to subsistence harvest have to be inferred from general reports about the amount of subsistence foods consumed, and these data are imprecise to say the least. McDowell et al. (1985) indicates that 63 percent of the households in the Barrow/Kotzebue district engage in subsistence. 47 percent of the households obtained 0 to 25 percent of their food supply from subsistence; 34 percent obtained 25 to 50 percent; and 19 percent obtained 50 to 75 percent. According to the 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey, half or more of the diet is subsistence food in 27 percent of responding households. 28 percent reported that they eat subsistence foods, and 44 percent, which probably are non-Iñupiat, indicated that they do not eat subsistence foods.

According to our interviews and observations, the primary wildlife resource sold is fish, including fresh, frozen, or dried. During summer months announcements are continuously heard over the local radio station advertising fish for sale. Throughout the summer we heard of a number of items for sale, including fresh seal, ducks, caribou, walrus, ugruk, fox, kammiks, parkas, tanned skins, harpoon heads, and a mounted walrus head and tusks.

Trapping provides a source of revenue to some hunters. Wolf, wolverine, and fox are used for parka ruffs and sell for $525, $475, and $100, respectively. Furs are also purchased from other villages and other fur dealers in Anchorage and Fairbanks by enterprising Iñupiat and resold in Barrow. Parkas, which average $600 (not fur-lined) and kammiks, which average $300, are sold privately within the community, at Stuaqpak, and through other retail outlets outside of Barrow. Though sales at Stuaqpak include only a fraction of the arts and crafts sales, it is enough to suggest that arts and crafts production is an important revenue source. During 1985, a total of 147 consignments netted $157,595. The highest annual income earned by some individuals ranged between $10,000 and $13,000. The lowest income ranged between $300 and $750. These included parkas, gloves, hats, carved ivory, baleen, and furs. Small baleen baskets retail for as much as $1,200. The manager noted an increase in the number of items offered for sale by late 1985, which he attributed to the depressed economy in Barrow.

Whaling

Costs of whaling have increased during the last several years, while the opportunity for return has decreased under terms of a much-debated quota system meant to protect the whales. Capital investments increased while the actual expenditure for operating costs decreased because of the shorter duration of the spring whaling season and the elimination of the fall whaling season from 1978 to 1984. The spring whaling season usually begins in mid to late April. Prior to the quota, the season lasted through May. The whale harvest period decreased since the adoption of the quota system established by the International Whaling Commission (IWC) in 1978. Prior to the IWC quota the average time spent in harvesting whales was four weeks. Today that is constricted to less than four days. This does not include all of the preparation time needed for cleaning of the ice cellar, constructing and repairing the umiaq and all the other equipment, and surveying and constructing the ice trail to the open water. All of these jobs must be done even if to spend only one day on the ice.

The largest investment made by any hunter in any of the subsistence enterprises is made by a captain to participate in spring whaling. His costs have risen since Worl (1978) first reported the average expense incurred by a whaling captain was $10,361. Table 13 presents the current costs of being a whaling captain, based on 1984 prices.

Table 13

Captain's Expenses, Spring Whaling

Capital Investments			
1	Skin Boat	1,500.00	
2	Shoulder guns @ $900	1,800.00	
2	Darting guns @ $700	1,400.00	
2	Snowmachines @ $3,5000 each	7,000.00	
2	Sleds @ $400	800.00	
1	CB, antenna and battery	550.00	
1	Tent	400.00	
1	Kerosene heater	95.00	
1	Line rope 600'	115.00	
6	Harpoons with lines @ $60	360.00	
3	Tarps @ $60	180.00	
			$14,200.00
Operating Expenses			
10	Bombs @ $50.00	500.00	
3	Drums of fuel	300.00*	
1	Drum kerosene	90.00	
	Food	1,000.00	
			$ 1,890.00
		Total	$16,090.00

*The stores offer a discount price during the whaling period. The normal price is $160 per drum.

Shoulder guns and darting guns should have an indefinite life unless they are lost in the hunt, which of course has been known to happen. Major equipment, such as snowmachines, has to be replaced on an average of every three years. These figures do not include the costs of hosting the Nalukataq, which a captain must sponsor if he has been successful in taking a whale. This could increase the cost by another $1,000. Relatives contribute toward the annual operating expenses to offset the captain's costs, but the initial capital investments are born by the whaling captain. Not included in these costs are the expenses crew members incur themselves, such as using their own snowmachines and sleds.

Spring whaling represents a significant investment in Barrow's subsistence and market economy. During 1985 a total of 33 whaling crews were registered with the AEWC. Based on the above costs this would represent an initial capital investment of $468,600. Annual operating costs would be $62,370 for the entire fleet. Estimates of these operating costs are quite conservative since they do not include such items as the specialized clothing or repair costs for snowmachines. These purchases represent a welcome infusion of cash into the commercial market since most all items are purchased from the local stores.

Not considered in these computations are labor costs, including time expended in production activities, time lost from wage jobs, and the costs to the employers. A conservative estimate of the labor force is 300.[4] This number does not include individuals who are not listed as crew members but who actually spend time whaling. For example, one whaling captain we interviewed had registered a total of eight members with AEWC, but during the interview he listed 14 crew members. Not included in the AEWC number are young boys who serve as apprentices; the 10 to 12 women who sew the umiaq skins, the wives and relatives who provide support service, and the hundred or more community members who assist in pulling the whale onto the ice.

Expenditures increase if the crew engages in fall whaling. Fall whaling was abandoned in 1978 because Barrow's quota under the IWC regulations was always reached in the spring season. In 1985 several crews participated in a fall whaling season. During the spring season, hunters await the arrival of the whales on the shorefast ice along the open leads of water and paddle out to the whales as they spot them. Fall whaling involves hunting in the open water (the shorefast ice is absent at this time). Commercially made boats are used in fall whaling. The average cost of the boat, motor, and trailer is $10,000. The cost of gas is a considerable expense since the whalers must cruise searching for whales rather than awaiting them to pass along the open water.

Whaling involves a significant segment of the community in a single subsistence enterprise. In 1978 the Barrow whaling fleet included 36 crews with an average of 10 members per crew. As noted above, the 1985 whaling fleet included 33 crews. The average number of crew members has dropped to nine. Most crews have a core group of members who are usually the ones who are registered with the AEWC, but the actual crew size is usually larger. Some individuals do not spend the entire season at the whaling camp but alternate their time between their jobs and whaling. The total number of crews participating in whaling has decreased since the IWC quota system was adopted. One of the captains who has not put out a whaling crew for the past several years cites the quota as the basis of his action. He reports that during the first season, he had not even reached his camp before the quota was met.

Men are the primary hunters in whaling. Women were not allowed to participate in the hunt until the last several years, and only a few wives accompany their husbands to camp. Their usual function is to serve as spotters, spending endless hours watching for the migrating whales. Women, however, are essential in the construction of the umiaq. They butcher, prepare, and sew the ugruk skins for the umiaq. Most of the women who sew the skins are older, but at least two or three young women in their mid-thirties sew skins, and a number of others are learning. Women of all ages butcher and prepare ugruk skins.

The average age of the whaling captains in 1978 was 52. This is older than that reported by Alaska Consultants et al. (1984). Their data indicated that the typical captain was 45 years old and had a household income of more than $20,000 in 1981. The difference in the average age may be that the ages of co-captains, who tend to be younger, were reported in the 1984 study. In 1985 a total of 28 crews registered individuals who serve as co-captains. In a number of instances it is the younger co-captain who has the primary operational responsibility. He is usually the son of the individual registered as the captain.

Young boys begin to accompany their father at the age of seven. In addition to the regular crew, most whaling crews have at least one or two young boys present in the camp, but the same boys do not always spend the entire period there.

Boating

Summer boating begins as the sea ice begins to break up and boats can be launched from the shore. The season lasts through early fall or until the formation of the shorefast ice. The primary resources which are harvested at this time include walrus, ugruk, and seals. Boats are launched at ramps in Barrow and Browerville, and also at Pigniq. They are generally stored alongside the owner's house and hauled by trailer to the launching areas. During the peak periods the boats may be left at the launching area. During one summer evening, we counted seven aluminum boats, one skin boat, and eight empty trailers at the main launching site in Barrow (the skin boat had a 20 horsepower motor mounted on the back). At the other launching area in Browerville, we counted 14 empty trailers and one boat in which a father and son were working on the motor Many boats used in summer are also used in whaling.

Boating involves a considerable expense (see Table 14). If households do not have a boat or a family member who goes boating with other kin members, they will ask someone to take them out and pay the operating expenses. In this case the owner of the boat is entitled to take the tusks of any walrus caught, and he also claims one share of the take for the boat. Modern boats are expensive and their purchase is often on credit. We rarely found anyone who had been able to pay cash for his boat. To obtain credit, individuals applying for a loan had to demonstrate a regular source of income.

Wage earners can easily go boating after working hours. The 24 hours of daylight also allows hunters to remain out as long as they wish. Most hunters go out after work and return home in the late evening or in the early morning hours. We noted that during the summer of 1985 some hunters without wage jobs stayed out for

Table 14

Boating Expenses

Capital Investment		
Boat, Motor, Trailer	$10,000.00	
3 Rifles	1,500.00	
		$11,500.00
Operating Expense		
2 Drums of gas @ $160	320.00*	
Oil	100.00	
Shells ($15 to $20 a box)	100.00	
Food ($30 a trip)	360.00	
		$ 880.00
Total		$12,380.00

*Stores do not offer discounts for gas for this activity; discounts are only given during the whaling season.

extended periods, in some cases as long as two and three days. In these instances this was done to consume less of the costly fuel. Two or three men from interrelated households usually went out boating together. Boats can also be seen from the shore moored alongside one another as the hunters share tea or coffee.

Boating is an important activity, not only for the meat and oil obtained from the marine mammals, but because the ugruk skins are an absolute necessity for the umiat used in spring whaling. Most whaling captains own boats because of this need; however, they may still be required to purchase ugruk skins if they or someone in an interrelated household have not been able to harvest at least six ugruk. The umiaq skins have to be replaced every three years.

The success of the hunters varies. Hunters often came back without anything, but on other days, we noted that a single boat brought back as many as seven walrus and one ugruk. The harvest is divided equally among the hunters. The boat is also entitled to a share, and if the boat owner participates in the hunt he gets two.

Women play the vital role of butcher in this subsistence enterprise. Men may butcher walrus, but not ugruk. In all instances women are responsible for butchering ugruk since they must care for the skins which will be used to cover the umiat. Smaller ugruk are used for soles on kammiks. They are usually sewn by the wives of the hunters or other women who are related to either to hunter or their wives. The women who assist in butchering are entitled to a share, which is smaller than the hunter's share, "but it is enough for her household." One women explained the importance of this activity, "In this way, people living in households without hunters are entitled to meat shares." Butchering is a festive atmosphere, and as many as five or six women gather outside the house to butcher walrus and ugruk. There is usually much talk and laughter as stories are exchanged. The older women instruct the younger ones. It also looks very much like a biology lesson, as the young girls are taught the anatomy and the names of the different parts of the animal. As one woman tires, another will come and take her place.

Camping

Subsistence activities associated with camping are those that occur at Pigniq, in the inland areas, and along coastal sites outside of Barrow. A remnant of the past is the pitching of tents alongside of houses in Barrow. This is usually done by a few elders who as young children moved into tents on the beach in front of Barrow and Browerville during the summer.

Figure 11 shows the location of fixed camps. Families move along the southern coast to camps at Peard Bay and eastward where they migrate up the Inaru, Kagagvik (erroneously called Tupaagruk), Chip, and Ikpikpuk rivers. Some begin to travel by snow machine immediately after whaling or before the rivers have begun to thaw. Usually those who are traveling to cabins at permanently fixed camp sites leave in the early spring to haul their summer supplies. Others wait until after Nalukataq when they can travel by boat along the ocean and up the rivers which are generally ice free by this time. Campers also travel to outlying regions throughout the spring and summer by charter airplanes. A number of families begin to move out to camps in early April and remain there until late October. Charter air services are kept busy between Barrow and the camps during summer. A few families remain in the camps until the Christmas season.

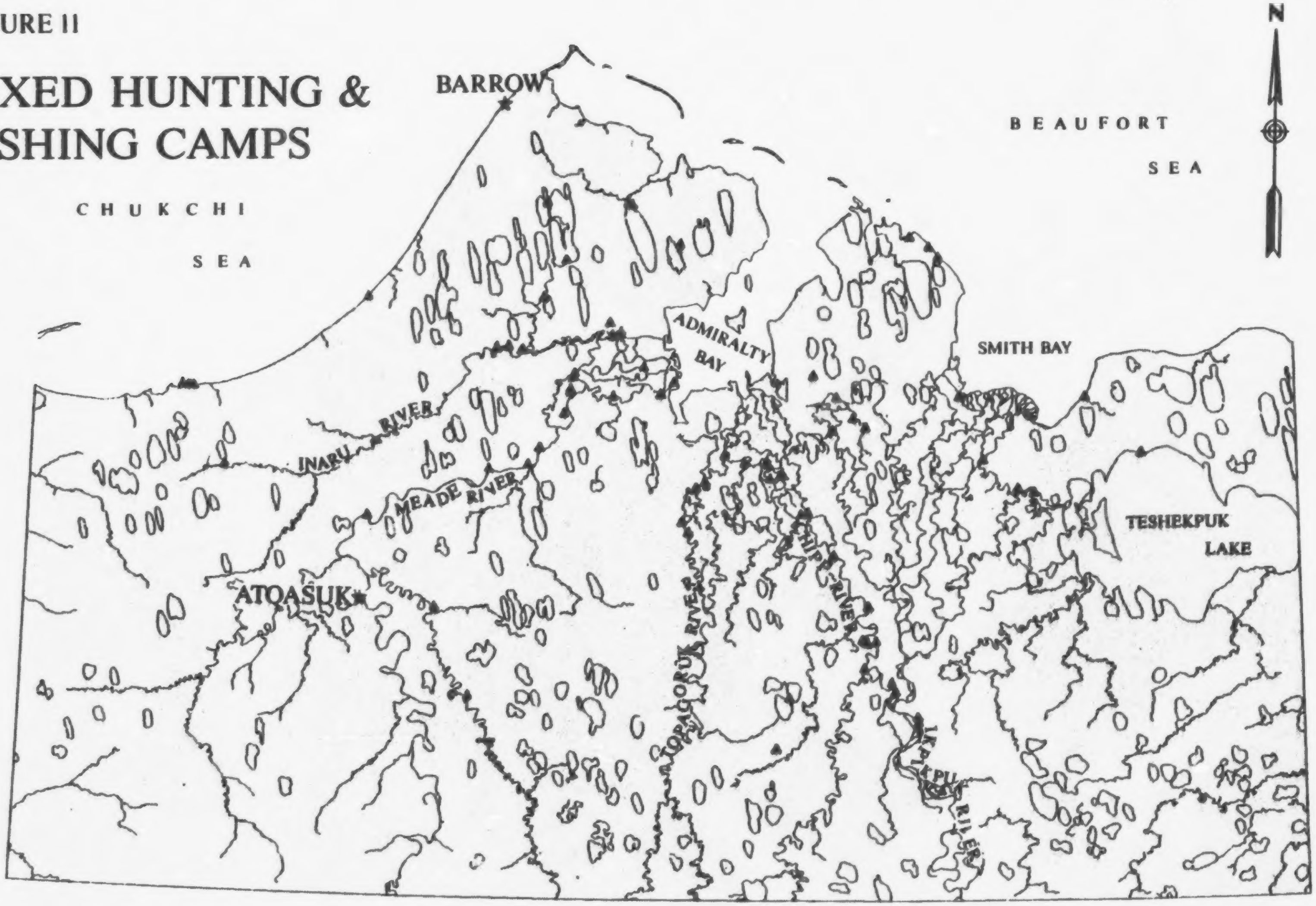
The primary harvesting activities associated with camping are fishing, hunting caribou, fowling, and the preservation of these resources. Occasionally a moose may also be taken. Marine hunting is also an important activity for those individuals camped at coastal sites. The resources obtain during the hunting trips are utilized by the family and whaling crews and offered for sale.

Some families have access to three or more camps owned by various members of the family. Many are allotments, and facilities in these fixed camps are usually quite comfortable. Most have permanent cabins and a few even have electrical generators. The camps are also well-equipped with the hunting and fishing equipment left there from year to year. Ice cellars usually are a feature of the campsite.

We found that Barrow residents utilized 77 fixed camps in the inland areas and along the coast. This should not suggest

FIGURE 11

FIXED HUNTING & FISHING CAMPS


BARROW
CHUKCHI
SEA
BEAUFORT
SEA
N
ADMIRALTY BAY
SMITH BAY
INARU RIVER
MEADE RIVER
ATQASUK
TESHEKPUK
LAKE
TOPAGORUK RIVER
CHIPP RIVER
IKPIKPUK RIVER

NOTE: This map displays only the locations of fixed hunting and fishing camps and does not show the locations of many temporary subsistence camps utilized by Barrow residents.

▲ FIXED CAMPS

0
20
MILES

This map was developed with assistance from Bart Ahsogeak and Emily Binnian of the North Slope Borough. Map automation and production by the NSB Geographic Information System.

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that only 77 households utilize campsites, however. Our data indicate that members from interrelated households utilize the same campsite, and often these interrelated households may have access to two or three permanent fixed camps. These camps differ from temporary camps in that they usually have a wooden cabin or at least a wooden platform, which serves as the floor for a canvas wall tent. A prevalent pattern we noted is that grandparents remain at the camps for long periods, and their children and grandchildren visit at various times throughout the summer months. We also found that permanently fixed camps were not a requisite to camping. A significant number of families ranged along the inland and coastal areas outside of Barrow. They established temporary camps along the coast and rivers during their hunting and fishing trips.

Costs associated with camping vary considerably since families travel to inland camps by boat, snow machine, charter airplanes or a combination of these methods. Those households with fixed camps and cabins usually leave equipment (snowmachines, boats, fishing nets, and household items) at these camps throughout the year. Most often the men will make the initial trip, bringing basic equipment and supplies to the camp by snowmobile. The women usually follow in charter aircraft. Round-trip fares run as high as $500.

Table 15 presents typical operating costs for one family group for a month-long trip utilizing two snowmachines. Costs are considerably higher for those who remain in the camps for several months. These families have additional costs, such as fishing nets. They usually charter flights in and out of the camp. They are also the ones who are more likely to sell fish. One whole dried fish sells for $7.00. While selling frozen or dried fish provides a source of revenue for these families, it does not appear that the primary purpose of the hunting and fishing effort is to earn cash. Rather the most important purpose is meet their needs and then to offset their costs. The price of the fish is not computed on actual costs and margin of profit, but appears to be arbitrary.

Table 15

Camping Expenses

Operating Costs

2	Drums gas @ $160.00	$320.00
	Oil	100.00
20	Gallons white gas	120.00
20	Gallons kerosene	150.00
10	Boxes shells @ $15.00	150.00
	Skidoo parts	250.00
	Spark plugs, etc.,	300.00
	Food	600.00
	Total	$1,990.00

Rifles and shotguns represent considerable cost, and hunters have at least three or four rifles and two shotguns. Rifles and shotguns are a favorite gift for hunters. For example, the following lists the rifles and shotguns one individual has and how he had obtained them:

Four rifles with an average cost of $400 each:

1. 223 rifle	Christmas gift from wife
2. 220-250 rifle	Wedding gift from father-in-law
3. 30.06	Birthday gift from brother

Three Shotguns:

1. 12-gauge (2 each)	One was gift from coworker
2. 20-gauge	Gift for nephew used to teach him if he goes out hunting with this individual

Pigniq, also known as the Shooting Station, is a popular site for camping and hunting ducks for all members of the family. Sea mammals are also taken here. People begin moving out to Pigniq in the early spring and remain there until the early fall. Lumber that has been salvaged from various construction projects or the dump is used to construct small cabins. Considerable traffic between Barrow and Pigniq continues throughout the day. As noted previously, the bus route extends to Pigniq during summer. Cab drivers report that they are frequently called to transport a trunk load of ducks from Pigniq to Barrow. An increasing number of non-Natives are hunting ducks at Pigniq; however, they do not have cabins and go out only long enough to take a supply of ducks.

Sea Ice Hunting and Fishing

Ice hunting and fishing are favorite activities, especially among the elderly who can fish on the edges of town. Iñupiat residents report that non-Iñupiat residents are now engaging in this activity as well. As soon as the shorefast ice is safe in the early fall, people from the village begin fishing. All that is necessary is warm clothing and a jigging line. One individual sold more than 200 ivory fishing hooks that he had made. Hunting seals and polar bears is another activity associated with sea ice hunting. Seals are a favorite food but are not considered a primary resource. Polar bear hunting is also a secondary activity and they are taken only when they are incidentally encountered on the sea ice and during boating periods. Duck hunting begins in the spring and again in the early fall. Whalers will take ducks when they are fairly certain that whales are not passing along the open lead.

Subsistence Participation

Men remain the primary hunters, while women carry the responsibility for the preparation and preservation of wildlife products. A large number of men continues to participate in subsistence activities. Wildlife resources contribute substantially to the economic well-being of the Barrow Iñupiat. Also noteworthy was the return to a greater reliance on subsistence with the slowdown of the NSB CIP.

Women participate in hunting and fishing activities during spring and summer camping trips. During the last decade women began to spend time in the whaling camps on the ice but not in the umiaq. Only in Kaktovik do women accompany their husbands during the actual hunt. The major responsibilities of women in the subsistence enterprise are butchering, preparing, and preserving the harvested resources. These are activities that can be conducted after work hours and do not necessarily pose a conflict with wage employment. The number of women engaged in this type of activity has apparently decreased from former periods. There are young women who do not assist in subsistence production activities, but our observations indicate that a large number of women, including both young and old, continues to participate in activities related to butchering and preserving wildlife products.

Our field work began as the borough's CIP was slowing down. Unemployment was a growing concern among residents. We interviewed individuals who had not been able to find employment. The response varied as to what they would do if they could not obtain employment. Some noted that they would have to leave Barrow, but others gave no indication that they intended to leave. The Barrow Iñupiat have experienced the effects of boom-bust periods before, and some Iñupiat left during the downturns but the majority remained. Those that remained intensified their hunting efforts. One individual noted, "Now there's no more jobs, so I'm subsistence hunting." This individual, who is married with four children, reports that his operating costs for hunting last year were $2,300. His equipment will probably have to be replaced since the major items are more than four years old. His family is fortunate. They own their own home, do not have a house payment, and the wife has a job.

Household Income and Expenses

Perhaps the most dramatic indicator of different socioeconomic conditions can be shown by changes in income figures. A comparison of the years 1960 and 1980 shows that median household income on the North Slope increased from $3,750 to $31,552. This 1960 figure doubled by 1970 and then rose by 400 percent during the 1970s (Table 16). The comparative income for Barrow households in 1980 is $34,534.[5]

Table 16

North Slope Household Income

1960	3,438
1970	6,923
1975	17,400
1977	22,500
1980	28,750

Note: The income figures for 1960-1977 are reported as family income.

Sources: 1960-77: Kruse, Kleinfeld, and Travis (1980:101)
1980: U.S. Census

In addition to this rise in income levels, significant differentiation among households has also occurred. The proportion of Iñupiat households in the higher bracket has risen substantially in the recent period (Table 17). In 1960, 100 percent of Iñupiat families had incomes of less than $10,000. This percentage decreased to 68 in 1970, and by 1980 it was 12 percent. The available data indicate that Barrow has a higher

Table 17

Distribution of Income Among Iñupiat Households - 1980
(Percent of Iñupiat Families)

Household Income (1980)	Region		Barrow	
	Native	White	Native	Non-Native
Less than $5,000	12	3	7	4
$5,000 to $9,000	8	1	9	5
$10,000 to $14,999	10	7	10	8
$15,000 to $19,999	5	10	11	6
$20,000 to $24,999	9	7	11	8
$25,000 to $34,999	16	18	19	8
$35,000 to $49,999	21	22	17	16
$50,000 to $74,999	13	22	14	22
$75,000 or more	6	10	2	9
	100	100	100	100

Sources: 1980 (Region): U.S. Census
1980 (Barrow): North Slope Borough survey.

proportion of mid-level incomes than the villages, but we believe this is also the case for the higher income levels as well. The addition of non-Native households in the comparison increases the pattern of differentiation still further.

The distribution of household income in our sample of 20 families indicates that the pattern of income differentiation continues (Table 18). Income was a consideration in the selection of our sample households insofar as we were aware of the range of income variation in the community.[6] The average annual household income for the sample Iñupiat households was $51,950, which is higher than the expected mean household income for 1985. If the same rate of growth in household income is assumed for

Table 18

Annual Income of Sample Iñupiat Households
(in percent)

Less than $5,000	0
$5,000 to $9,999	0
$10,000 to $14,999	15
$15,000 to $19,999	0
$20,000 to $24,000	0
$25,000 to $34,999	10
$35,000 to $49,999	25
$50,000 to $64,999	30
$65,000 or more	20
	100

1980 to 1985 as that of the previous five-year period (1975 to 1980), the mean of our sample is $4,500 above the projected average. Twenty percent of our sample had household incomes of more than $65,000, and in these cases more than one individual was employed. Excluding those high end households, the average annual income for the remaining 16 Iñupiat households declines to $40,860.

The largest source of household income is wage employment. Eight-six percent of Barrow's 935 households had at least one member employed in 1985 as shown in Table 19, which is the same proportion as existed in 1980. Three-quarters of Barrow households have one or two members employed. The largest number of employed persons in a single household is 10, and 130 households reported no employment. Eighty-eight percent (115) of the households with no wage earner is Native, which is nearly the proportion in 1980 (92 percent). Interestingly, in 1985 the largest households with employment are non-Native households, although Native households are larger, on average, than non-Native. Figures H and I in Appendix C provide the distribution of employment by household size for Native and non-Native populations, in 1980 and 1985. As with the population tables, mixed households are included in the Native category.

Table 19

Household Employment
(1985)

Number of Persons Employed in Household	Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
0	130	13.9	13.9
1	429	45.9	59.8
2	279	29.8	89.6
3	63	6.7	96.4
4	19	2.0	98.4
5	10	1.1	99.5
6	1	.1	99.6
7	2	.2	99.8
8	1	.1	99.9
10	1	.1	100.0
TOTAL	935	100.0	

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

Other sources of income in the community include transfer payments, pensions, and the sale of Native food, clothing, and arts and crafts. The standard types of social security are distributed in Barrow. Social Security Insurance includes retirement, survivors', and disability benefits. Social Security Income provides assistance to the aged and disabled. The benefit levels were reported for representative months in 1984 and 1985 for the North Slope region as shown in Table 20.

Public Assistance programs for low-income families include welfare payments (Aid to Families with Dependent Children, AFDC), energy assistance credits, old age benefits, aid to the disabled, and food supplements (food stamps and Women-Infant-Children, WIC). The amount of benefits received through these programs depends on the income of the household (or the smaller family economic unit receiving aid within the household). Energy assistance comes as a partial credit on the monthly household utility bill. AFDC is issued as a direct payment, and the food supplements are handled as coupons that can be redeemed in grocery stores. The WIC program is specific to new mothers for assistance with certain types of food of special benefit to infants.

Table 20

Social Security Earnings

	June, 1984	June, 1985
Social Security Insurance		
Number of Beneficiaries	240	$ 248
Amount	$90,000	$98,000
Social Security Income		
Number of Beneficiaries	34	30
Amount	$ 7,000	$ 7,000

Source: Social Security Administration.

Thirty-one Barrow households received AFDC in June of 1985. This represents an increase of 10 over the previous year. The number of recipients fluctuated from a low of 19 households in February 1985 to a high of 35 in October (see Table N in Appendix C). In most communities in the state there is little fluctuation in levels of AFDC support during the year. Changes in Barrow may result from the frequent migration of families in and out of the community that cause atypical fluctuations. Thirty-one households represent 3.32 percent of the households in Barrow, which is equivalent to statewide caseload figures of 3.29 percent (Division of Public Assistance 1985:3). "An AFDC household typically consists of a mother and one or two children. The average monthly AFDC payment is $644 for families with an adult included in the grant. Approximately 80 percent of the AFDC cases receive the maximum allowed payment and have no additional income" (ibid.).

The recent rise is AFDC payments in Barrow corresponds with an increase in the issuance of food stamps (see Table N in Appendix C). The normal demand pattern for food stamps in rural areas of the state is that it rises through the winter months, peaks in April, then drops quickly in May to July, remains constant at lower levels through October, and then begins to rise again. In 1985, the demand curve in Barrow diverged significantly from this pattern, and the spring months showed an increase in food stamps through June. The major grocery stores also noted the increase, which continued through the summer months. In August Stuaqpak clerical staff estimated the use of food stamps had risen to about $9,000 per month. Requests for credit increased at another grocery store in Browerville, Arctic Coast Trading Company. Store managers attributed these patterns to the restriction in local employment following the decline in CIP activity.

The manager at the largest grocery store, who has worked in several other communities before coming to Barrow, observed that the level of credit and food stamps in the town is low compared to other rural communities in the state. The $9,000 in food stamps is a small proportion of the $470,000 per month (average) that the store receives in food sales. He noted that revenues were dropping. By the end of summer he estimated that purchase were down about five to 10 percent. The decline was in large items such as furniture and appliances, not food or meat. Sales of fresh meat were also down, but this fluctuation is a normal part of the seasonal cycle and is due to summer hunting and fishing activities. The manager noted he might lay off two employees if the slide in revenues persisted.

The sale of parkas, other items of traditional clothing, and crafts is another source of income to Barrow households. As described above, the most active individuals generate between $10,000 and $13,000 in annual income from the sale of crafts and clothing. The overall contribution of this activity to household incomes is more than twice the amount of food stamps issued in the community. The level of sales is indicated by the revenues from consignments in Stuaqpak during 1985 ($157,595), which includes only a portion of arts and crafts sales in the community.

The sale of fish and wildlife also contributes to household incomes in Barrow. Notices are aired throughout the summer over KBRW, the local radio station, for the sale of dried fish, fresh seals, ducks, caribou, walrus, and ugruk. Other sales are made by word of mouth. This practice, which first became established in the community during the days of ARCON employment (Sonnenfeld 1957), enables those households without a ready source of Native food to acquire it and maintains levels of fish and game consumption in the town. It also provides a source of cash income to households with low employment and income levels.

A portion of households selling these items is elderly couples without the opportunity for employment, or households with very low cash incomes in need of supplementary sources. Sale of fish, particularly dried fish but also frozen, is the most frequent transaction. One resident noted that the high cost of transportation, particulary airfare, to inland locations has effectively restricted access for many local residents, and they now have to purchase fish if they want it. One older family remained at fish camp all summer, sending boxes of dried fish on returning planes to relatives in Barrow who sold it by word of mouth and notices over the radio. This fish was sold out by summer's end.

Both residential and commercial rental properties are another source of income to Barrow residents. Whereas the various public assistance programs and sales of Native food and artifacts are primarily an income source for Iñupiat, the rental of properties is primarily a source for non-Iñupiat. Excluding Iñupiat-owned businesses (including ANCSA corporations), local government and the local utility, the NSB tax rolls list 81 residential rental units in the town. Of these, 70 are owned by non-Natives in the name of an individual or business. Eleven are listed to Iñupiat. Iñupiat are sometimes the property (lot and structure) owner, but they are also sometimes listed as the lessor of the property, which in many cases has been improved or had new construction built by the lessee. We know the borough's count of residential rental units is low; we observed several properties (including the one we lived in) that are not listed on the NSB roles.

Twenty percent of the households in our sample listed no employed members. This proportion of unemployment corresponds with the percentage of Iñupiat households in Barrow that have no employed members, 21.5 percent.[7] In our sample the heads of these households are elderly persons over 65--two widows, a widower, and a couple. The four households have the lowest incomes of the families we studied, and the income source derives completely from the elderly members--as social security and longevity bonus payments, and in two cases includes pensions from previous employment and energy assistance.

The number of generations present in these four households is from two to four. Two of the households include single men, sons of the elderly head, and two were larger, incorporating younger family units of parents and small children. The common characteristic of these families is that the elderly householders are the sole support for the family members sharing their home. Household expenses are paid for by the older people, and the others are able to remain in the home without having to assume major financial responsibility. As the younger adults are unable to acquire stable employment, it appears that they will remain with their older relatives. Moreover, they were not always sure what they will do without the assistance of the elderly family members.

The pattern of older individuals supporting younger residents appears to be a more general feature of family households in the community. One person offered the following observations of this behavior, which he had noted among older individuals of working age:

> Parents in this age range, 50-55 years, were lenient with their kids, and now they support their kids in their home. They don't tell kids to get out and support yourself, because of the problems they created when their kids were young and they were drinking. It continues, with younger families [domino effect]. But some kids come out of that; but others continue to live that way, not weaned from their parents. In the past, it was proper to stay together and hunt together. These older people were brought up that way, where it was good to have sons at home to keep hunting for the family, as a unit. These same families are now supporting their kids. It creates a lot of ill feelings. A lot of families are stuck with 30-35 year old kids. With cash economy. Instead of keeping family as a unit, keeping unmarried sons and daughters in the home, which is good when doing subsistence, they did not stay at home but went hunting. Now, they stay at home, watch TV, sit around while waiting for Mom to cook. Ages of these people are 34, 29; and now high

> school kids are starting to lean on them. They don't know how to kick them out of the house and start making a living on their own. They have no initiative, don't do anything--stay at home, watch TV, wait for parent's paycheck. How do you wean them, how do you work with kids who sit at home while Mom works, and comes home and has to do dishes, empty trash?

Often the older household heads pay all of the monthly expenses, which is a demonstration by example how to take responsibility for themselves and the household. This also may be done to help the younger people save money to establish their own households. In one case, the parents of a working child did not require any rent or other assistance from him because he was building a house for himself and his family on another lot. Sometimes young householders are requested to pay for some expenses, especially if they are the primary cause of them. One person described her attempts to resolve such a situation. This person takes care of all household expenses if her sons are not working, but when they have jobs, she asks them to help out:

> I talked to [my son], 'You don't have to ask money from me. I'm supporting you, I pay everything in this house. You try to make your own money, for cigarettes or something.' That's why he's carving. We'll have to teach our kids not to [be] complacent. They have to learn on their own how they're going to take care of the house. Sometime I left them, when they were working, 'You have to pay your bills, utilities, TV, telephone.' I tell the boys, 'I'm not going to pay that TV, if you want it you're have to pay watching that TV.' I always telling those two boys, 'If you don't pay it, then we'll cut them off.' I told them over there one afternoon [visiting at a neighbor's house], 'We are too lazy, that's why we got those freezers make high our electricity. We are lazy, we got a cellar we don't want to put them away. Too much for electricity.'

Several times during our interviews people expressed the cultural ideal to establish a separate household independent from their families, at the time of marriage. One individual gave an explanation for this preference:

> I let him [grandson] stay here. I told him, 'If you find a girl, you should have your own home.' I know how they feeling when young man and woman get together and got kids, it's hard to stay with other people. I know it that way. That's why a lot of young people separate, when they stay in a one house family. It's hard for the young couple for staying in one big house with the other families. I always talk to my kids, they have to have their own home and learn how to live, and raise his own kids in his own home.

The same preference is sometimes expressed for unmarried men as well, since individuals (especially of hunting age or, in modern Barrow, of working age) should be able to support themselves independently, and perhaps be able to contribute to others, instead of the reverse.

The same standard is not applied to women, however. Single women, especially those raising a family by themselves, face disapproval from men and women who see this as a departure from traditional values and role expectations. One thoughtful individual, who is aware of the conditions which contribute to this change, still has trouble accepting women who attempt to make a home for themselves without a man. He feels that "the change from a male-dominated society" brings difficulties today:

> A lot of women are starting to care for families, single women households. Before, men and women knew their roles in subsistence society. Now, they don't know their place. [My wife] worked at [a job outside of Barrow]. Her grandmother told her to always please the man. She quit working when I got a job. Now some [families] are fatherless, or are mother-dominated.

> The men get together with each other, but it is always with a bottle, to talk about hunting trips. Need a work schedule that is flexible, in town one week for work, and then left to go hunting the second week.
>
> Welfare syndrome is affecting our society in Barrow. Get more kids and they get more money; women know they can do this now. See more babies out of wedlock, and the mothers getting welfare to support them.
>
> And it is unfortunate to be from a small family. In large families, grandmother always gets the best. [My wife's grandmother] always has food, has hunters. 3-4 are not married, and are hunters [Do they live with her?] They have their own houses. This is still an old style Iñupiaq family, male dominated.

As we shall discuss below, the cost of rental housing in Barrow is at such a level as to preclude the formation of new households without a reliable income in the family unit. This factor contributes to the pattern we observed in lower income households, that there is a preponderance of individuals who are not working and who are supported by older people on fixed incomes. The same pattern may be true for households with one person employed, as suggested in our interviews.

The information suggests that older people in the community are supporting a larger proportion of the employable (but unemployed) population. In many households the situation is chronic. For most of the Iñupiat population, employment is usually of short duration (less than six months or a year). With decreases in CIP-related jobs, such opportunities are declining rapidly. Further, if a family unit does move out of the household, it is possible that another will replace it in the home, as family fortunes and situations are not always stable. We observed such an instance in the course of the summer in one of our sample households. A young couple was living with the spouse's grandparents at the beginning of the summer; both individuals were employed when we arrived in Barrow. Within the month, they moved out into their own quarters. Shortly afterwards, a different grandchild moved into the household, bringing her husband and little child. This family unit moved to Barrow about two years ago and has not been successful obtaining regular employment since their arrival.

Household Costs

For the majority of households the largest monthly household cost is food which is purchased at grocery stores. The households in our sample averaged a monthly food bill of $724. This figure does not include placing telephone orders or buying food in Anchorage or Fairbanks and shipping it home by parcel post. The average purchase amount for food orders is $500 per shipment, plus postage; and households may do this as often as six times per year. Some families with low cash flow cannot afford such a large outlay at one time; and hence cannot take advantage of lower prices outside of Barrow. If we assume two orders per year per household, the average monthly food bill increases to $807.

Some families manage to spend $200-$300 per month on groceries. Minimal purchases are limited to the basics, which include bread (or flour), butter, jelly, peanut butter, tea, sugar, honey, eggs, soft drinks, and cleaning supplies (soap, toilet paper, etc.). These families are of two types; those which have a primary diet of Native food for most meals, and others which can be classified as living in poverty. The latter households often receive contributions of food from community organizations and one or more public assistance programs. In one household we studied the family received monthly distributions of groceries from the Deacons, and one of the family units in the household was enrolled in the WIC program.

At this economic level the participation in extended kin networks is crucial to the maintenance of the household. In our sample, three households had monthly incomes between $800 and $1,000. All of these families spent minimal amounts on food from the store. Two of them participated in more active and extensive hunting and visiting networks, and the other was a member of a smaller, more intermittently active group. The latter was a recipient of food supplements as described above.

The cost of housing is another major monthly expense. Some Barrowites own their home outright, and many others rent or pay on a mortgage. A bimodal distribution is illustrated in our sample households, 50 percent of which has the advantage of no house payments. For the entire sample, the average monthly payment for a residence is $275. But, if we remove the 10 home-owning households from the calculation, the average cost jumps to $522. Three of the remaining nine households receive subsidies for their rental housing, which is also the case for a portion of non-owner families in the community. When the sample is drawn from the remaining households that pay all of their housing costs, the average monthly expense is $754.

The recent housing survey identified 499 households which rent their homes (out of a total of 935). This figure is close to our own count of 491 rental units in the community, based on hard information collected from several borough departments. Since we know that our figures are low, based on the observation of rental properties which do not show up on official lists, we can state with confidence that at least 500, or more than half, of Barrow living units are rented. Rental housing units have predominated in Barrow at least since 1980, when 377 of 607, or 62 percent, of living units were rentals (U.S. Census).

The largest landlord in town is the NSB. The borough provides 319 housing units (125 single units and 194 apartments), which are distributed among the various programs as follows:

Low-income Housing	
Single Units	22
Apartments	49
Mutual-Help Ownership	
Single Units	34
Employee Housing	
Single Units	69
Apartments	145
Total	319

The NSB School District, in addition to 23 units of employee housing provided by the borough, supports two houses, one four-plex, and 25 units at the old elementary school. Another large enclosure of employee housing is the Public Health Service apartments, which are not included in our calculation of rental units. One hundred forty-two rental units are registered to private individuals and businesses. These are used for employee housing and as commercial rental property. Ninety-four of these are owned by local businesses, and 48 are owned by individuals.

The bimodal distribution of housing between owners and renters is hidden in the average figure for shelter expenses ($443.13) from the Alaska Geographic Differential Study (The McDowell Group et al. 1985). Rental rates are substantially higher than this average. The payment schedule for NSB rentals is as follows:

Efficiency Unit	$557
1-Bedroom Unit	$614
2-Bedroom Unit	$695
3-Bedroom Unit	$776
4-Bedroom Unit	$847

These rates include gas and garbage removal. Private rentals are substantially higher. We encountered rates as high as $1,500/month for a furnished one-bedroom apartment while searching for living quarters. A two-bedroom house was available for $1,200/month. We settled on a two-bedroom apartment, unfurnished, for $900/month plus utilities after negotiating a reduction from an asking price of $1,200.

The average monthly charge for utilities in our sample was $291/month. If we exclude those households that received all or partial utilities subsidies from employers, however, the average is $315. This is lower than the $371/month average for the northwest region reported by McDowell Group et al. (1985). This difference may be partly the result of the inclusion of gas and garbage pick-up in NSB rental rates. Also, honey bucket service is provided free by the borough. The 1985 housing survey reports that 45 households, or five percent, receive electricity and natural gas paid as part of rent.

Another household expense is loan payments. Forty percent of the sample households had loan payments of one kind or another. Most were bank loans for the purchase of specific items, including an outboard motor, a used truck, furniture, vacation expenses, a second (vacation) home, and in one case, to pay off a collection of overdue bills. One individual reported that 90 percent of his paycheck went to the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) for payment of back taxes. One category of bank loans to Iñupiat were for payments to the IRS, not exceeding $10,000 to $15,000, for debts incurred because the individuals did not pay taxes for two or three years. In one case the individual purposely withheld taxes and placed his money in an interest-bearing account, figuring he could make a few dollars more in the long run, but the scheme did not work and he had to pay a substantial sum to the IRS. The other category of larger loans is for boats.

The local bank has about $2 million in loans out to Barrow residents. The greatest number is signature loans, in the amount of $5,000 to 10,000, and automobile loans. An estimated 178 signature loans and 150 auto loans were reported. Other consumer loans are recorded for boats, snow machines, three-wheelers, and hunting equipment; home improvements; and motor homes. These loans total about $1.3 million. The remaining loans are commercial packages to local businesses, most for equipment and real estate. An increase in small loans for snow machines occurs each year during whaling season. In the past year there has been a significant increase in loans to villagers, particularly in Wainwright and Nuiqsut. These loans are for boats, motors, snow machines, and vehicles. The banker reports an excellent record of payments on loans given out. The total losses which he was not able to recover later came to less than $1,000 in the past four years.

Several stores in town provide credit to their customers. Stuaqpak does not give credit for groceries but will for clothing, equipment, hardware, etc. Arctic Coast gives credit for grocery purchases, and usually a ceiling is applied if credit requests expand without repayment. Arctic Coast increased its food credit as the summer progressed. Brower's Store also gives credit for groceries. Long-time customers are able to accumulate charges when cash is short,and they are expected to pay them back when the families acquire money at a later date. Many of the older, low-income residents find this practice beneficial when they are faced with limited cash supplies.

Householders who have built their homes on unrestricted lots have an additional expense--property taxes. These homes are taxed at the same rate as industrial properties in the oil development zones in the borough. This issue was raised by a thoughtful campaigner in the fall 1985 race for the NSB Assembly.

Endnotes

1. 1980 Employment was reported as 1,048; and in 1985 the total number of employed was 1,340. However, the more recent figure is probably higher than the actual level of actively employed individuals. The 1980 study was a survey of employers; while in 1985 all households were asked to indicate who was working among their residents.

2. In the summer of 1985 one whaler was investigating the possibility of having a commercial frame constructed. He had sent a model of the umiaq to a company in Seattle.

3. The McDowell study is useful in that it demonstrates the differential expenditures on subsistence in varying regions of the state, but the costs are probably underestimated and it does not reflect the patterns of expenditures.

4. A total of 270 crew members were registered in 1978 as whaling crew members, but two captains did not list their members. In 1985, there were 33 crews with an average size of nine persons.

5. The source of the 1980 data for Barrow and the region is the U.S. Census, which is actually reported for the year ending 1979.

6. Since the range of household income was consciously selected in our sampling procedure, the relative proportions of household incomes cannot be taken as representative of the community. Data from 1979 (U.S. Census) indicates that there is a normal distribution of income among Barrow households, and fits a pattern similar to that reported in the 1980 NSB survey (Table 17): see Table O in Appendix C.

7. The percentage figure for Barrow is drawn from results of the 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

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CHAPTER SIX

HOUSEHOLD ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Introduction

Every household in our sample consumed and utilized resources produced in both the cash and subsistence economies. Significant variations existed in the levels of production, consumption, and utilization among households as well as at the individual level. In many extended families a direct relationship exists between a wage earner and a hunter. In such cases, the individual displayed high levels of participation in either the wage or subsistence economy. Individuals who are not employed, however, do not necessarily engage in subsistence production activities during the entire period of their unemployment. To understand the dynamic interrelationships and interdependence between subsistence and cash the individual must be viewed within the context of extended kin relationships and, more specifically, within the support network of interrelated households.

Institutional policies also contribute to the flexibility an individual has to move between a wage job and subsistence production. Employment does not appear to deter participation in subsistence hunting. Liberal subsistence leave, compatible work schedules, and a tolerance for high absenteeism on the job allow even those individuals who are employed full time to actively pursue subsistence. Our data suggest that ardent hunters will quit a job without any hesitation if it interferes with subsistence, especially when employment opportunities are numerous.

Institutional Policies

During the mid-1940s, ARCON (the first major employer of the Barrow Iñupiat) adopted policies which recognized that employed Iñupiat should be allowed, even encouraged, to continue their subsistence pursuits. Sonnenfeld (1957:484) reported that ARCON's policy allowed brief periods for employees to hunt without fear of losing their positions. The Iñupiat-controlled NSB and ASRC implemented liberal subsistence leave policies from their inception in the early 1970s. These leave periods were not confined or limited to the number of annual leave hours to which an individual was entitled or to fixed vacation periods. Often, to the dismay of the non-Iñupiaq boss, employees would come and go on their own volition. An individual who disappeared onto the land for these periods sometimes would be fired only to be rehired on orders from the borough mayor. For example, one young man we interviewed left his job to go hunting without asking or telling anyone. He returned after two weeks and was shocked to learn that he had been fired, but he was able to talk his foreman into hiring him back.

These employment practices were possible during a period when many high-paying jobs were available in Barrow and rigid job skills and requirements were nonexistent. Mayor Eben Hopson instituted and enforced a local hire policy. Men could quit their jobs and expect to easily acquire another one during the peak NSB CIP period from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s. Informal on-the-job training was the norm. In the early phase of the employment boom, the traditional status of older Iñupiat, such as whaling captaincy, was enough to qualify them for managerial or foreman jobs. Often this status corresponded with affiliations in the national guard, which was another informal criterion in the assignment of the preferred (e.g., permanent or managerial) positions in the 1970s.

Oil field employment also allowed a number of Iñupiat to continue their subsistence pursuits. Work at remote sites normally includes on/off work periods of one or two weeks, so schedules were compatible with subsistence production. Iñupiat hunters used their time off to hunt or go whaling.

Reduced subsistence periods associated with employment were in part offset by the introduction of rapid transportation equipment, which reduced travel time to hunting sites. Hunters earning high incomes could purchase high-powered snowmobiles and outboard motors. The use of charter planes allowed hunters to get to their inland hunting and fishing camps in less than an hour.

Young hunters were socialized into new institutional patterns which encouraged subsistence participation. The establishment of a local high school in Barrow during the early 1970s allowed youngsters to participate in subsistence activities throughout the year. In the past, high school students had to leave Barrow to attend boarding schools. Their subsistence activities were limited to summer months. The Iñupiat-dominated school board formally adopted policies in 1976 that reflected practices already in place. Under the board's policy villages were allowed to establish their own school-year calendar so it would be compatible with peak subsistence seasons. Barrow and Point Hope opted for their school year to end in time for the students to participate in spring whaling. The school advisory committee in Kaktovik adopted a calendar with a two-week spring break to coincide with the period that villagers traditionally go to the mountains. Students also could register in classes which offered travel and inland hunting for several days at a time.

Employment/Subsistence Strategies

Iñupiat employ four basic patterns of employment/subsistence strategies: (1) direct relationship between the wage earner/hunter and the elderly/hunter, (2) intermittent employment, (3) weekend hunter, and (4) subsistence/commercial hunter. The first three strategies are the most common and the subsistence/commercial hunter the least prevalent.

Wage Earner/Hunter Relationship

In our sample households, some individuals held full-time jobs and expended little or no time on subsistence production. On the other hand, the production effort of others was primarily devoted to subsistence pursuits and minimal effort in wage jobs. We found that a direct relationship between a wage earner and hunter often existed.

The relationship between wage earners and hunters, and between the elderly and hunters, are kin-based. The wage earners may be male or female and the hunter may be their son, grandson, brother, father, or husband. Extended family cases indicate that the wage earner, elderly person, and hunter may live in the same household or in an interrelated household. In most cases hunters had no visible signs of a cash income and could not sustain an independent household.

A wage earner might support a hunter and also hunt himself as time permitted. The data indicate that he will participate, at least minimally, in subsistence activities. Wage earners are more likely also to be whaling captains and to support whaling crews. The wage earner purchases the equipment (e.g., snowmobile, boat, motor), which he in turn lends to the hunter. He also may buy the necessary hunting supplies. In exchange he will share in the harvest. A wage earner sometimes supports more than one hunter in the whaling crew venture. In one extended family a father provided the main support for three of his sons.

Many elders contribute supplies to a hunter in exchange for a share of the harvest. The data suggest that the cash value contributed by a grandparent is considerably less than that of another individual who is fully employed. In some instances, the grandparent provides the only source of cash income in a household. The elderly receive additional shares through the cultural practices which continue to prevail in Barrow. One individual described this practice, "Whenever any of my brothers caught their first seal, polar bear, first of every animal, my father would invite all the old people over 55 years old to eat their first animal kill. He did that to all my brothers."

Women also contribute funds for subsistence activities. Often this pattern became established in earlier generations. One woman reported that her mother had been "the provider," buying the fuel and outfitting her father "with boat, rifle and ammunition." This woman's husband is thinking of quitting his job because she had obtained a "good position . . . someday he'll get that feeling and go through with it."

Another young woman and her children who all live with her parents reported that she is entitled to a formal share of whales because she provides the food and gas. She said that she spends approximately $1,200 for these items. She is the sole wage earner in her household, which includes her parents, five brothers, and an uncle. Women who inherit whaling equipment used in the hunt are also entitled to a share of whales. Several references were made in the interviews to women who had inherited whaling equipment and were called "Captain ________," even though in actuality they did not lead a whaling crew.

Individuals who have been permanently employed for long periods may abandon their jobs for no apparent reason. One individual who had worked for five years in Anchorage and seven years for the DEW-Line unexpectedly quit his job, simply stating, "I quit my job a year ago, lost my job, I got tired . . ." This individual has not held a permanent job for several years. He reported that he went fishing for one and a half months and trapping throughout the winter but sold only a few pelts since fur prices were low. He let his wife and mother keep the rest, which they used to make parkas for sale.

Individuals whose hunting efforts are supported by someone else tend to be younger, single men. They often receive support from more than one individual. The major financial sponsor usually lends his equipment and provides supplies for the hunter. Minor support may come from other individuals, such as a grandparent or sister. These hunters generally live with someone, such as their parents or in-laws. If they are married, their wife provides most of the cash support. Often they did not graduate from high school; however, they have had general training in subsistence hunting and a few are well experienced. One such 18-year-old individual trained to fill the role of hunter was described by his sister:

> Mom and Dad don't care if he works or not because he's the main hunter in the family. He keeps us provided with food, polar bear, seal, duck, geese, walrus and bearded seal. He goes out for anything to fill up our

> ice cellar for the winter supply. He works few months in the winter . . . They want him to work now, but he wants to go walrus hunting, ugruk now. He started when he was pretty young hunting. He used to go with grandfather. He used to cry when he was two or three years to go with grandfather . . . My grandfather took him out saying we needed to have good hunter after grandfather died. Even when father was working, he was always hunting as far as I can remember. He would get up at 3 or 4 AM and go hunting a few hours and then go to work. As soon as the season is good, _____ takes off. He doesn't notify anyone. We don't care at all.

In addition to actual harvesting activities, these individuals also service and repair their hunting equipment. Some individuals spend periods of up to two months at inland camps, beginning in early spring through the fall months. Others venture out for two- or three-day trips or even just for a day, but these same individuals may not engage in any subsistence production activities for long periods of time.

Individuals who act as hunters in the wage earner/hunter relationship usually have a history of intermittent employment. They will work for short periods and quit. Cessation of employment may be associated with excessive alcohol consumption. They are often viewed by their families as individuals who can't hold a job. One who typifies this syndrome was described as follows: "He hunts quite a bit when he's sober, drinks more than he hunts. He can't hold on to a job due to his drinking." They are rarely described as the great hunters, but rather they tend to be viewed as individuals who are not able to hold jobs. Irrespective of their intermittent employment and alcohol problems, they appear to fill a vital role in harvesting subsistence resources for their household and interrelated households. It is also apparent that these individuals are sustained largely through the support system provided by their extended family.

Intermittent Employment

The pattern of intermittent employment and periodic subsistence production during periods of unemployment is a common characteristic of Iñupiat males. Though most men who adopt this pattern of employment appear to be younger, single men, it is not limited exclusively that group. Case study John outlined below describes a young, married male who has held 10 jobs during the last five years. He alternates between periods of employment and shorter periods of subsistence production. He engages in subsistence activities during the periods he is not employed, but it does not appear that he necessarily quits his jobs to go hunting nor does he devote all his time to subsistence pursuits while he is unemployed.

The pattern of intermittent employment was first recorded by Sonnenfeld (1957:482-483):

> . . . over 200 Eskimo worked for ARCON during the seven years of its operation, much fewer worked for long consecutive periods. Just over one-half worked continuously for one full year or twelve months, and only about half of these worked two years or more in succession. Though thirteen Eskimos worked steadily for six years, only one had worked for the full period of ARCON operation . . .

Sonnenfeld found that on the average, Iñupiat men worked 25 months out of the possible 87-month work period.

Kruse et al. (1981) recently studied Iñupiat participation in the wage economy and found that Iñupiat male employment in Barrow during 1977 resembled that reported by Sonnenfeld. During the ARCON boom period, Iñupiat male employment was 75 percent of the population. This was equivalent to 1977, when the labor force participation peaked at 76 percent of Iñupiat men in the primary working ages. Even when job opportunities have been abundant, the Iñupiat male labor force remained below national norms. According to the Kruse study the annual average labor force participation of Iñupiat men in the age group 18 to 54 was 58 percent, while the annual average of U.S men was 91 percent. More than half of the men indicated that they preferred to work in the wage economy only part of the year. The study concludes that the intermittent labor at high-paying jobs appears to be a central cultural adaptation of many Iñupiat men to the wage economy.

Some individuals work for periods of several weeks to several months before they quit. Others work for one year and then quit and are unemployed for several months. One individual held six jobs in one year. His periods of employment ranged from three weeks to four months. In the previous year (1984) he held three jobs, and his periods of employment ranged from one month to five months. He reported that he stays on the job if he likes the work. He lost only one job because of drinking.

This pattern will probably change after 1985. The realization that employment opportunities are becoming more scarce is apparent to many Barrowites. The employed persons said that they would try to hang on to their jobs.

Unemployment benefits are also seen as a means to support subsistence activities. One individual uses unemployment benefits to buy gas for his inland trips. In another case two brothers spent the winter inland fishing. "I took home 50 sacks of fish, I was up there three months . . . my mom sold the fish, I made $2,000." Another pattern is to work long enough to save enough money to go hunting. This pattern was described by a 21-year-old individual who was planning his employment/subsistence periods: "I still have to save money for the winter. I need $3,000 [to] take off, saving money to go hunting, takes $5,000 to survive 7 months inland subsistence."

The pattern of intermittent employment provides Iñupiat men with the opportunity to participate in subsistence activities. Individuals do not necessarily quit their jobs to hunt nor do they devote the entire period of unemployment to subsistence activities. Though men cite hunting as a reason to quit their jobs, they also acknowledge drinking problems as a reason for leaving or not being able to hold a job. A wide variation in the levels of subsistence hunting is evident during periods of unemployment. Some men express a deep attachment to hunting and being out on the land, and they spend extended periods hunting and fishing during unemployment. Others expend minimal time and effort in subsistence while not employed. As noted above, some men are able to earn additional income through the sale of subsistence resources during periods of unemployment.

Weekend Hunters

Full-time employment is a constraint, but not a deterrent, to participation in subsistence production. Men employed full time often hunt after work, on weekends, and during vacation periods. Kruse et al. (1981) indicated that 60 percent of the Iñupiat who responded to the survey in 1977 reported they engaged in subsistence activities, mostly on weekends or after work. The most common pattern was to mix wage employment and subsistence. Iñupiat workers also take advantage of the liberal subsistence leave policies to participate in activities such as whaling. Decrease in whaling resulted from the IWC quota. As described above, since the IWC quota was adopted in 1978 the average annual number of days engaged in active whaling dropped to four days from four weeks. One captain indicated that he no longer went whaling because of the reductions in the number of whales they can take.

Significant variations occur in the amount of time that fully employed men expend in subsistence production, and in the amount of resources they consume and utilize. Households, such as that of Tom described below, consume and utilize significant amounts of subsistence resources. A large portion of the diet is Native food, and he and his wife always have new parkas and kammiks. Tom is an exemplary model of an individual who has a full time wage job and who avails himself of every opportunity to hunt, fish, and whale. He is respected as a hunter, and friends of his wife report that his ice cellar is always filled. In addition to supplying his own personal needs, he is also recognized as a hunter who generously shares with other individuals. At the other end of the spectrum is Dick, who consumes a minimal amount of subsistence resources. He has the same subsistence leave opportunities as Tom and earns a high income. Although he has minimal knowledge of subsistence hunting, he does have the opportunity to accompany any one of his relatives who are active hunters. These cases represent two extremes, and it is likely that most weekend hunters fall in between the two cases.

Subsistence/Commercial Hunter

Perhaps the least common strategy utilized by Barrow Iñupiat is combining subsistence hunting with the commercial sale of subsistence resources and arts and crafts production. The households which adopt this strategy are usually comprised of older couples, who are assisted by younger members of their families. They also receive some cash from other sources, such as modest retirement funds, rental income and sometimes occasional gifts from their children. They also have minimal financial obligations. They usually own their homes that are older houses they built themselves. Their primary diet is Native food, and they spend extended periods at their hunting and fishing camps.

The sale of subsistence food is not only initiated by older families but also by younger hunters, such as the individual described above who sold $2,000 worth of fish. Some individuals engage in only periodic sale of subsistence resources if they have surplus supplies or need cash. Usually the subsistence foods are sold to other Iñupiat in Barrow. They are also sent to relatives in villages who can then sell the products for them. Although some subsistence foods are sold in the large retail store, most sales are made from private homes. The local radio station, KBRW, regularly announces items for sale--fish, meat, fur for parka ruffs, and other arts and crafts items.

Though subsistence foods are sold only to Iñupiat consumers, arts and crafts products are sold to both Iñupiat and non-Iñupiat. Several women accept orders from individuals outside of their family members to sew parkas and kammiks. Approximately 40 individuals put their arts and crafts items on consignment at Stuaqpak, the largest retail store in Barrow. Of this number, 50 percent were comprised of senior citizens, predominantly women. Most of the products were arts and crafts, but at least five hunters market their furs through this outlet. During 1985 these sales amounted to $157,595 and represented 147 consignment agreements.

Though the number of individuals who can be classified as subsistence/commercial hunters is limited, they provide a vital service to the community in supplying resources which otherwise might not be accessible to some local residents. The primary subsistence food sold is whitefish, and it is sold at prices below production costs. The income earned from this enterprise subsidizes the production efforts which also supply these individuals and their families with their own subsistence resources.

Iñupiat Women

The patterns of Iñupiat women's participation in the workforce and in subsistence production is remarkably different from Iñupiat men. With the exception of older women, most women in our sample held permanent full-time jobs. Young women with two or three preschool age children were more likely not to have wage jobs. Two other young women, one of whom has a drinking problem and the other receiving payments from her husband's insurance, did not work. 26 percent of Iñupiat women did not work for wages in 1977 and 60 percent of the women held permanent, year-round positions (Kleinfeld 1981). This pattern of permanent employment for women, rather than intermittent employment characteristic of men, appears to persist in 1985 as well.

Participation of women in subsistence production has decreased significantly since the 1960s when they began entering the wage economy in larger numbers. Kleinfeld (1981) found that Iñupiat female labor force participation increased more than four times between 1960 and 1977. Increased income, rather than the demands or conflicts with employment, were responsible for much of the change in the female participation in subsistence activities.

The greatest changes were in the area of clothing production. Flensing, tanning, and preparing skins for traditional clothing and footwear are tedious, time-consuming chores that most women gladly gave up. Increased availability of cash meant that families could purchase commercial clothing. Although many women continue to sew parkas and kammiks, the majority no longer do their own sewing. Many individuals choose to buy their parkas and kammiks, but if necessary, these items can be replaced by commercial clothing, even though the men complain that they are not as warm as traditional clothing.

Women's services are still required in the butchering of ugruk and sewing ugruk skins for the umiat, which are necessary for spring whale hunting. The number of women with the knowledge and skills to sew ugruk skins on the umiat has decreased. The task of sewing ugruk skins on the umiat is done by ten older women. Only a few younger women are learning the art. It was reported that the quality of sewing has deteriorated because of the heavy demand for the services of these ten women. The women are paid $50 apiece for their services, and they also receive a share of harvested whales.

Many women with wage jobs continue to have the responsibility of processing subsistence resources. These activities are conducted after working hours. These women have the burden of preparing and preserving wildlife resources together with the demands of their wage job.

Some Examples[1]

Tom

"I'm Always Chasing Employment"

Tom, a 65-year-old Iñupiaq male, is employed by a large organization. He hunts during his annual vacation and on weekends as his busy schedule allows. His high and stable income allows him to support a subsistence venture which involves several hunters. His life-style today contrasts with his youth. During his early childhood years, he and his family lived at Barter Island for four years. They spent most of their time on the land hunting and trapping wildlife. After he returned to Barrow, he started school at the age of nine and went as far as the eighth grade. He started whaling at age 14, and at age 16 he began travelling with his father, seal hunting and trapping to support the family. His earliest memories of those days are of the hardships his family endured:

> You know, it was nothing, no employment for the people. And the only income they had was trapping for furs, was the source of what you trade for your whatever your needs are . . . you buy your groceries with the seal skins or whatever you can get. The only source of energy or fuel they had in winters was blubber . . . and there were some hard times.

His entry into the wage economy began with his military service. He was drafted at the age of 21. During the next four years he was stationed in various communities in Alaska. He was promoted to "buck sergeant" before he was discharged. He returned to Barrow in December, 1945, "But there was no employment when I discharged . . . And I was going to stay around here, hunt." However, his wife became ill in early 1946, and they had to go to Fairbanks because there was no doctor in Barrow.

He decided to remain in Fairbanks since there were no jobs available in Barrow. He went to work as a truck driver, but he applied for a job with the Army Corps of Engineers. In July, 1946, he was hired for a job in Barrow, and he and his wife returned home. He began to work as a carpenter and reports that during the late 1940s, "everybody picked up employment." He worked for ARCON and the navy. He speaks with obvious pride about the "511 pilings" he placed under NARL "making about $700 a month."

The carpentry jobs in Barrow weren't permanent, and Tom again was forced to leave home, "I'm always chasing employment like that, because the camps shut down, that's why I had to go out and do that." Barrow remained his home base as he travelled to nearly a dozen communities constructing schools for the BIA. Fortunately, one of the schools was in Barrow. "I was eight years without a break in employment, working for the Department of the Interior [BIA]."

After the Barrow school was constructed, he went to work there as a shop instructor. He reports that "I started up as GS-12 so it was good pay." He remained in this position for three years.

Throughout this period he continued to serve in the national guard. His military service totalled 17 years. He also continued to hunt and earn additional income through the sale of wildlife resources. He recalls the impact that the Marine Mammal Act of 1971 had on their income. The act prohibited the sale of raw ivory and skin to non-Natives. "I remember the price of raw ivory was about $2 a pound. Put it on a scale, get $2 . . . Bear skin, they were selling for up about $30 a foot."

In 1972, at age 50, he began working for one of the Native corporations established under ANCSA. He continues to work with the corporation and expects to be there for a few more years.

Tom is also recognized as an able hunter. Friends of the family reported that Tom and his wife always have more than enough Native food to last for the winter. In spite of the high income Tom earns, he believes that "Even here in Barrow, you know, you still have to subsist . . . There's not enough meat out there . . . You might have a hamburger and chicken out there all the time, but we gotta have seal oil, ducks . . . You don't see that in the store."

Tom has a cabin in an area that was formerly a subsistence settlement which had been permanently inhabited by two or three families. He reports that it is the "best place to be . . . game, walrus, seal. And then you don't have to go very far, you go up the river . . . come down, then one hour, fish, ocean fish." He visits the camp during the spring and summer and spends his entire three weeks vacation there. He and his wife and members of his family, "up to a dozen people," spend time at the camp.

Tom and his wife maintain a balance between wage and subsistence that appear to be satisfying to them. However, it is evident wage employment is his primary economic activity. Subsistence is a secondary economic pursuit for Tom, and it continues to fulfill a cultural value and preference. Tom was not one of the individuals in the extended family analysis, and we are uncertain as to the extent of his ties to other households. However, the direct relationship between his wage income and his support of other hunters is evident. He supports a whaling crew and expends several thousand dollars on this venture.

Tom is adamant in his assertion that the wage economy is essential, "There's no way our generation is going to survive without any income." He also maintains that further changes are necessary for the younger generation who should seek higher education. "So with the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act . . . we'd like to see some of our own people go to college and come out with some degree in management areas, or law, and geologist . . . we could sure use some oil and gas lawyers and managers."

Dick

"Knowing White Man's System"

Dick is a 42-year-old Iñupiaq male who is married and has three children. He and his wife are also raising their grandchild. He has a college education and works in top management positions. He and his wife also have their own private business. He is presently learning the basic skills necessary to hunt. His father, a carpenter, made him a bow and arrows and a slingshot, which Dick used to hunt little birds around the village. When he was eight or nine, he recalled that he began to accompany his father to hunt ducks and seals.

When Dick started school, he didn't speak English. He attended school in Barrow until the sixth grade. He and the family moved to Fairbanks so his father could work. They lived there a year and then returned to Barrow. Dick returned to Fairbanks for his first year of high school. He moved between a foster home and his sister's home. Later he obtained a job in a junkyard, which provided a trailer in which he could live. At this young age, he lived by himself and learned to be self-sufficient. He transferred to Mt. Edgecumbe, the BIA boarding school, from which he was graduated.

Dick also indicates that he had "learned the basics of racial discrimination" in high school, which was one of the factors which motivated him to seek higher education. He had formerly attributed the differential treatment of Natives as "strange . . . never really understood why, I just thought it was part of their custom." He recalls that there were places in Fairbanks where Natives couldn't eat and that there were separate bathrooms for Natives. In high school the discrimination became more obvious, "We had a lot of non-Natives that were very persistent to really abuse some of their responsibilities, and they made us do extra work, or tried to whip us . . ." He learned of the historical injustices to the Indians who lost "not only their identity, but their land." He also had Indian teachers who "stressed the importance of education and knowing the White man's system. It began to play an important role to me, not outwardly, but inwardly."

Dick returned to Barrow, married, and worked in construction jobs, which he reports were readily available. A year later he "got a job being a power plant/sewage plant operator." He worked there for eight years. He recalls that nearly every year he had a "different boss . . . And it came to dawn on me, they knew a lot less than I did." At this point, he decided to "get more education." He noted that "being an operator was good, you know, good income coming, steady income, never need to bother anybody," but "those kinds of events start to become important to me" such as the proposed "atomic bomb test" at Point Lay, the "eider duck for out-of-season" and the "land claims."

He returned to school for a year but left to work on the pipeline for three and a-half years. He bought a house in

Fairbanks and "kids went to school there. I felt that was better place for them to get started . . . a good foundation . . . in the learning institution." His work schedule was one week on and one week off. During the week he was off he began to do volunteer work in the community. He decided to return to college to obtain a bachelor's degree. During his college years, he became involved in national Indian issues which he said, "broadened my perspective . . . finding out there are other minorities that are worst off than us because they didn't have land, or they didn't have the opportunity to hunt."

Dick indicated that he was "always homesick." During the period he was in college he visited three other North Slope families who were living in the same community. After a 12-year absence, he returned home in 1980. The plan was that he "was going to work during the summer time and go back and finish. Didn't realize we were missing home so much. So I just told the wife when we come back we're going to stay."

He worked for the NSB for more than a year and left when a new administration took over. At this time, he and his wife started their own business. He later went to work for one of the subsidiaries of a Native corporation. He held the office of president for one year but left for political reasons. He returned to his business for a period of 18 months. When a new mayor was elected, he returned to work for the borough in a key management position.

Dick reports that "One thing that I feel sorry about, not being able to do, was hunt . . . I've been going to school for so long, you know, I really can't recognize inland." He is learning many of the basic skills from one of his friends, "I go hunting with my buddy, he teaches me . . . how it's done, why it's done, the techniques . . . the land, basic land stuff, in case I get lost, how to survive . . ."

Dick, as well as his wife and adult offspring, are assimilated into the wage economy. His son is already attending college. He is only beginning to learn about subsistence hunting and devotes minimal time to this activity. He and his wife recently started to support a hunter. They purchased the equipment and supplies for a hunter who will provide them with subsistence resources. Dick has a strong appreciation of the cultural values associated with land and subsistence, which he advocates in his political activities.

Dick has exceeded his father's expectation who "felt that education was important." Dick reports that his father didn't know why, but he wanted him to be a "good carpenter" or a "good mechanic." Dick says that he always enjoyed this type of work, "but I always wanted something a little better than that."

John

"I'm Getting More Independent Too"

John is a 30-year-old Iñupiaq male who is married and has five children. He and his family have lived in his wife's parent's home for most of their married life. He has always been remarkably successful in obtaining middle management jobs but has worked intermittently since he graduated from high school. His periods of unemployment range between one to three months. He is an active hunter, but he is not necessarily engaged in subsistence activities during his periods of unemployment. He has a general knowledge of hunting but is not viewed as highly skilled. His wife has a stable access to cash through her arts and craft production. She has earned enough to buy a house, which she rents to supplement their income.

John is the oldest of eight children. His father was often away during his childhood, working as a teamster for a contractor on the DEW-Line. His dad worked long enough to be eligible for a retirement pension. John's memories of his childhood are of "a very harsh environment, alcohol was always evident and there were hardships because of that." When he was 15, he moved out and "had to make it on my own."

Although he had difficult times, he realizes that his lifestyle is much easier than that in which his father-in-law grew up. He believes that the hardship endured by his father-in-law's generation contributed to their "desire to be constantly active and constructive." He contrasts this with his youth in which he "grew up . . . rocking and rolling and dancing, had natural gas, and all these things that we take for granted." John admits his lifestyle is much easier than his father-in-law's but thinks that this new world in which he lives "makes me feel inadequate because the standards and values are so demanding on me." He attributes the demands to the "cash economy . . . necessity for employment because without the cash economy, we cannot buy the necessities, the tools, the hunting equipment that we need . . ."

He attended elementary school in Barrow, but like all other students his age, he had to leave Barrow to attend high school. After he finished high school, he returned to Barrow. He always talked about going to college but never did.

John returned home during the period when NSB jobs were readily available. He was always able to get jobs, and usually they paid as much as $32.80 per hour. His jobs varied from laborer to administrative positions. His jobs often took him to Deadhorse or the villages. He worked for the NSB, Native corporations or their subsidiaries, and the oil companies. One thing that was consistent about John's employment pattern was that he did not remain in any one position long. His reasons for leaving jobs also varied from wanting to have a job in town in order to be with his family or because another job offered career advancement. Although John's wife reports that he has an alcohol and drug problem, it does not appear that he was fired or forced to resign from any of his jobs. John reports that he had 10 jobs in the last five years. During our field research period, he had three different jobs. Later discussions with John revealed that he was dissatisfied with his current position and that he was seeking a research grant for himself.

John reported that in spite of the high-paying jobs he has had, he does not have any savings or investments. He expressed regret about not going to college and thinks that he lacks the education to obtain permanent, professional positions which are available in Barrow. He said that he and his friends assumed that jobs would be around for many years.

John is the only one with a wage job in his household, but considerable cash flows into the house from the sale of arts and crafts works, rental income, longevity bonuses and pensions. John is also the only active hunter in the household, but considerable subsistence resources are contributed to his elderly in-laws by other family members and friends.

John is a member of his father's whaling crew, and he frequently hunts with his brothers whom he calls "his partners." He goes boating and hunting inland as well. John has begun to take his two sons with him on hunting trips, but "only when I feel very comfortable." His father reminds him that "if you want to learn the land you have to go out yourself and learn it yourself." He reports that he and a friend who used to hunt together "have gone our separate ways and he is very independent and I'm getting more independent too!"

John may not feel the urgency to work since he and his family continue to live with his wife's parents and his wife is able to bring in cash. However, both he and his wife repeatedly expressed the desire to obtain their own house, and they were working to fix up one of their houses during the research period. John is recognized as an intelligent individual and someone who possesses leadership potential. He is politically active and vocal in community issues. He expressed regret about his unstable employment history, but he does not appear to be altering his behavior even with the realization the jobs are becoming more difficult to obtain. His periods of unemployment are not directly correlated to periods of subsistence activity. He seems to participate in hunts, not so much because of necessity but because he thoroughly enjoys it. When asked which he preferred, hunting or wage employment, he replied, "Well, both, but more to the fishing, trapping and the hunting."

Jill

"I Am the Sole Supporter"

Jill is a 38-year-old Iñupiaq female who is divorced and the sole supporter of her three teenage children. She is employed, has recently bought a house, and accepts second jobs to supplement her income. She has ready access to Native food through her brothers and sons as well as through her own participation in butchering.

Jill was born in an adjacent village and lived there until she was eight years old. She moved to Barrow, where she went to elementary school, returned to her home village to live with relatives for one year, and then came back to Barrow. During eighth grade, she went to Wrangell Institute in southeast Alaska and then transferred to Mt. Edgecumbe. After high school graduation, she went to business school for one year in California.

Jill reports that she began to drink while she was in California, "really into heavily drinking, drinking a lot at that time." During one of these episodes she injured herself and "had to go home then." She says she continued to drink and met her husband at this time. They got married after she became pregnant. She reports that "he was good at first, he provided, but then he started drinking." She got pregnant again and the abusiveness began. She remembers, "He had so many jobs--work here and quit work here and quit work here and quit work here." She ended up supporting the family, "work constantly, steadily at secretarial jobs, office jobs--I made sure my kids had something to eat." After a period, she reports that she "let him work, he's the provider, he should be the one to do that." The abusiveness began again. They moved to another village. She left him, but returned a couple of times, but finally resolved after considerable "mental anguish . . . that I couldn't live that way."

Jill's decision to leave her husband was made with great difficulty and the opposition of her family. She left and she reports "My life changed for the better." She continued to work as a "clerk typist, secretary . . . I was promoted to . . . manager." She held this job for a year and then served as the acting director of a NSB department for about four months. She then moved to a social service job which she has held for over two years.

Jill's father was known as a great hunter, and she grew up eating mostly Native food. She continues to eat a lot of Native food, which she obtains from her brothers and during the regular meals at her mother's house. She reports her children are "into teenagers' food--hamburgers, pizza and stuff like that." However, her oldest son began to hunt with his father when he was a child and is now hunting and whaling with her brother who is a whaling captain. She boasted, "He was 13 or 14 when he got his first caribou." Jill also helps in whaling, which insures her of receiving portions of harvested whales. She also gets additional shares, "I get two shares like when my boys are whaling, then I get two shares." She tells her daughter, "Find somebody who could hunt, who could fix a car, someone mechanically inclined who could support us with food."

ENDNOTE

1. The names have been changed in these examples to preserve the anonymity of our respondents.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

EXTENDED FAMILY GROUPS

Households in Barrow have an independent and individual existence, yet they are in daily association and interchange with many others. Telephoning, visiting, eating together, doing chores for someone, hunting, butchering, preparing the catch for storage, sewing parkas, sharing meat, borrowing tools or equipment, nurturing and raising children, or coming over to take someone out for a drive around town--these are the regular and recurring behaviors which take place among members of different households. This chapter describes the structure and regular interactions of six extended family groups, followed by discussions of the major patterns of relationships which connect members of different households. These patterns include visiting, hunting and sharing, adoption, and naming.

Our investigation of the relationships among different households explored the full range of these connections for a sample of 21 households.[1] We quickly found that a comprehensive network of these connections would produce an extremely large structure of relationships extending throughout the town and beyond to other villages, towns, and cities. Within our sample, which developed out of a study of six family groups, the significant (i.e., regular and recurring) relationships among the households of "separate" family groups could not have been predicted on the basis of genealogical proximity alone.

In this discussion the terms 'family' and 'household' are used to make a distinction between structures of domestic functioning and units of residence. The family has an extensive and variable membership, but the individuals in a family are related by kinship. A household, which is also variable in structure, is identified by residence in common (see Bender 1971). Sometimes, we employ the term 'family household' to emphasize the kinship relations among the residents. Iñupiat households in Barrow are overwhelmingly family households, that is, residential units in which the members are related by kinship; there are very few households in which an Iñupiaq individual lives only with non-relatives. The 'family group' or 'network' comprises several households, the members of which are related by kinship and other regular interactions. Many domestic functions are carried out within this group of closely related households.

The extensive pattern of interactive relationships among different households is consistent with the wide-ranging character of Iñupiat kinship. Several features of the system combine to provide an individual with a significant range of kinsmen, both socially and geographically. The scope of Iñupiat kinship is maximal, there being few, if any, institutionalized limits to the tracing of consanguineal relationships based on ancestral connections (Burch 1975:50). Principles of "augmentation" (lineal, affinal, and fictive) and the "permanence" of kinship ties, once established, serve to widely extend the network of relationships (summarized in Burch 1975:51-3).[2]

The kinship system has various mechanisms that allow for a structural rearrangement of roles and statuses, such as substitution or extension of a close relationship to a more distant relative, existence of multiple and alternative connections between individuals in the system, and different applications of the principle of affinal exclusion (Heinrich 1963; Burch 1975). There is also much room for preferences and selections according to personal outlook, needs, and temperament. Through processes of recruitment and optional placement in the kinship system, the structure of wide-ranging, permanent connections is quite flexible "with respect to filling the various roles distinguished in terms of it" (Burch 1975:196).[3]

In addition, Iñupiat kinship relationships are permanent, but optional.[4] The system is "permissive" in that it allows choice as to the activation of relationships between individuals.[5] The resultant networks have some degree of permanence through time, but they are also situational or circumstantial and so have built-in factors of variability over time.[6] The system does not establish a particular enduring form beyond prescribing primary allegiance to consanguineals.[7] This feature of the system is significant, however. "Consanguineal aggregation" has been identified as one of the social institutions crucial to understanding Iñupiat kinship:

> The concept that consanguines belong together . . . begins with the nuclear family and manifests later in the

> life of the individuals remaining, as sibling solidarity. These siblings often form a close unit, and it is . . . expectable that a close bond should extend from them to their offspring as well as between them. . . . The ties set up in the nuclear family and the first degree of extension thereof (normally reinforced by extensive inter-family cooperation) produce the natqun[8] circle (Heinrich 1963:86-7).

The natqun circle remains a salient structural form in modern Barrow.[9]

When an individual reaches maturity he gains the autonomy to redefine his social relationships, even those within the natqun, and to solidify connections with others outside this group. Traditionally, Iñupiat kinship furnished the structural elements for organizational forms larger than dyadic relationships, such as family households, hunting task groups, qargi, and the village (Heinrich 1963; Spencer 1976; Burch 1966, 1975).[10] A crucial structure was the cooperative hunting unit, for which kinship provided the means of extending relations laterally to supply sufficient personnel.[11] Settlements were organized according to the prevailing patterns of kinship relations among residents, and the larger kinship units were held together by the leadership abilities of a "big man." According to these authors, the solidification of dyadic kinship relationships into larger organizations was based on "mutual need" or the "mutual advantage" of the individuals involved, and the system provided ample flexibility for permanence and change in the structures according to individual preferences, social circumstances, and economic or ecological contingencies.[12]

Burch (1975) described the changes in local organization in Iñupiat society since the time of contact with commercial whalers in 1850. He writes that at the time of contact the structural unit of Iñupiat settlements was the local family, a group of two or more large, extended families living in closely situated or even interconnected dwellings.

> Local families were the major organizational components of a traditional Northwest Alaskan Eskimo society. In other words, for all of the people most of the time, the local family formed the social unit in terms of which daily activities were carried out. Children would move back and forth between the houses, eating and sleeping wherever the mood struck them, and the men usually would be found clustered together in one house (or in the gazgi [sic.] or else hunting), and the women would often work together in another. The one cooked meal of the day, consumed in late afternoon or early evening, would typically find the entire membership concentrated in two of the constituent houses, the men and adolescent boys in one, and the women, girls, and young children in another. In this type of situation the so-called "nuclear family" all but vanished, and the domestic family was scarcely more significant. A local family was a single, coherent organization, one in which the constituent relationships were articulated with one another in terms of a definite pattern. The Eskimos did not have a name for this type of organization, as such, but they referred to the members of one simply as ilagiit, i.e., as people interacting in terms of kin relationships (Burch 1975:241).

Burch analyzes changes in these family units from the period of contact (1850) to the recent past (1970), pointing out that the local family has become smaller in size and simpler in structure, equivalent to simple (i.e., not compound) extended families. He cites demographic changes, particularly increases in family size due to reduced infant mortality and improved health care, as the primary factors in organizational change through the historical period. Due to additional social processes characteristic of larger settlements, including the migration into towns in the form of conjugal families, the dispersed availability of lots and housing, and the rapidly increasing emphasis on activities based on non-kin forms of organization (particularly wage employment), he suggests the large co-resident local family units did not persist as extensively as in the villages (Burch 1975:239-290).[13] In towns such as Barrow, this change process occurred earlier than in the villages, probably by the 1890s.

Our research confirms that extended family networks in Barrow have become smaller and simpler, and that the constituent household units are geographically dispersed in the town. Today, many of the domestic functions of the previously larger and more complex local family groups are carried out by smaller and structurally more simple extended families.[14]

The structure of extended families in modern Barrow is a unit based on the conjugal family, a married couple and their children who, when they marry, generally establish separate households.[15] The salient characteristic of these family groups is that the members of these separate households remain closely associated socially, if not geographically, with others from the root nuclear family. The clearest expression of this structure occurs in the activities of hunting and dividing meat, which most frequently involve the cooperation of people in this group. Other forms of domestic interaction, including visiting, nurturing children, sharing food or labor, etc., occur within this family group with a similar intensity.

Barrowites use the term "family" in two ways. One meaning refers to a group of co-resident relations, as in the statement, "In my family and in John's family, the preference is Native food." The ideal type for this unit is a conjugal pair and their young, unmarried children. The Iñupiat ideal, as expressed today, is that a married couple will establish their own separate household when they begin to have children, if not earlier.[16] The other use of the term 'family' refers to an extensive network of kin relations. It encompasses the close extended family, comprised of several family households, but it also extends beyond this group bi-laterally to include anyone who is related by kinship.

Some Examples

Extended Family A

This family is comprised of the surviving member of a conjugal pair, their offspring, and spouses and children of the offspring. The network is distributed among six households in Barrow (see Figure 12). One household (1 in the diagram) includes the surviving spouse of the root pair, together with two unmarried sons. Two other sons are married and have children; they have separate households (2 and 3). One daughter lives with

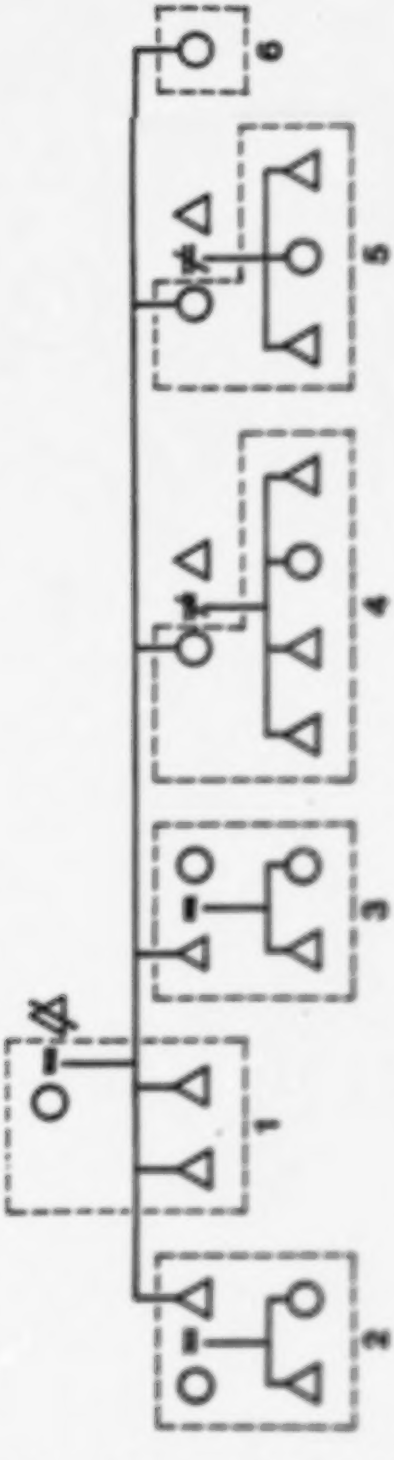

Figure 12. Diagram of Extended Family A

her four children (4), and another daughter with three children recently established herself in a new house (5). She had been residing in her mother's home prior to this year. A third daughter lives by herself (6) in the village. The six households of this family group are dispersed throughout town; one is in an apartment.

The widow's home is the focal point of social interaction within the family. Frequently, often every day, her children and grandchildren will stop in to visit at the house. On many days there is a gathering for a lunch or supper of Native food. Not only does this meal provide an opportunity for visiting and interchange, it is convenient for the sibling group since most of them are employed fulltime. The widow and her children perform errands and other small favors for each other. For example, a daughter will deliver her mother's monthly utility payments to the various village offices, or one of the working sons will leave a child with his mother during the day for part of the summer, while his spouse is at their camp with his son. This sort of interchange is more frequent within the mother's household than among the siblings', but there is also regular interaction among the latter as well. The younger children flow freely among the homes of their aunts and uncles, visiting and sleeping over at will. Sometimes, an unmarried sibling will visit one of her brothers and stay for a meal.

There are two additional households which have ties to Extended Family A, but they have stronger relationships with other family groups. These are the family households of a daughter and son of the widow's husband from a previous marriage. These individuals are considered to be older siblings by the children of the widow, who refers to their children as grandchildren. The two households participate equally in the daily social interactions and are important in the family hunting and sharing network.

When the widow's husband was ready to pass on his whaling captaincy, he transferred it to this eldest daughter's husband, with the understanding that he would pass it back, "to the oldest son who carries the family name," in the future.[17] The son he was referring to was employed out of town at the time this arrangement was made. Several years ago, the daughter's husband transferred the captaincy back to one of the sons, as agreed. In addition to the social position of captain, the arrangement involved the full equipment inventory which had been maintained within the family. The equipment included the captain's umiaq, ice cellar, and camp (a cabin at a good inland hunting and fishing location which the man had built for his wife's father).

Although the eldest daughter's husband, now former captain, is a member of another family network, he and his sons are active in this family group. They visit the widow and participate in the family meals that take place at her house. Their ice cellar is open to members of the sibling group when they seek some meat. They contribute ugruk skins for the family umiaq, and at least one of the sons participates in the whaling crew of this extended family.

The other household which has significant ties to this family group belongs to the second child of the earlier union, a son, who was adopted out into another household when he was young. His father (the widow's husband) is remembered as a very respected hunter and, for many years, had a very close hunting and cooperative partnership with a sibling of the head of the adoptive household. These relationships provide a continuing social connection between the two families. The adopted son is regarded as a brother by the siblings in the diagram. The men hunt with him in his boat as well as their own, and he and his son serve on the family whaling crew.

Regarding her husband's partner, the widow said "[He], when he was hunting, was always giving us meat." The relationship continues in the present, through two of his sons who may bring her ugruk, walrus, seals, or caribou. This summer, one left a seal at her house.

The adult males in households 1 and 3, and the spouse in household 3, harvest most of the Native food that is produced in this network. One of the brothers in household 1, although a very knowledgeable and experienced hunter, is disabled and no longer participates in hunting activity. The brother in household 2 is significantly less experienced than his brothers and is only beginning to hunt, at low intensity, in the present. He and his brother (household 3), who is the whaling captain, work full time. Other employed family members include two sisters who head households 4 and 5, and the non-Native spouse in household 2. Only one household (2) has two employed members. Two households, the widow's (1) and that of her unmarried daughter (6), have no employment.

The brothers form the nucleus of a whaling crew inherited from their father (and his father before him). Captained by one of the brothers, the crew includes four brothers and five of their sons and nephews.[18] The captain and one of his brothers in household 1 bought an open skiff and outboard motor earlier this year for hunting sea mammals. The umiaq will need new skins for the next whaling season, and they purchased the boat earlier this year to assist the family acquire ugruk. The captain was planning to remodel his house this year, but he postponed this project after it was evident that new skins were needed for the umiaq.

The boat is used primarily by the brothers and their companions, but other whaling crew members are also given an opportunity to use it. The skins of all ugruk captured by the boat will pass to the captain for use on the umiaq.[19] He has several stored in his ice cellar, and he has been offered several more by his eldest sister's husband (the former whaling captain in the family discussed above), whose boys have a couple, and by his wife's aunt's husband. The captain is fortunate that his mother leads the team of older women who sew the skins for the umiat in Barrow.

The captain reports that the boat's share of the meat is distributed primarily to relatives in other villages. The captain sends meat to his uncles (his mother's brothers) in Kaktovik, an aunt (mother's sister) and his (adopted out) sister in Fairbanks, his brother in Anaktuvuk Pass, one of his father's relatives in Wainwright, etc. A similar pattern is evident in his mother's household. Most of the meat received there is redistributed to family relations in Barrow, often through the meals shared in the household, or to her brothers in Kaktovik, her sister and daughter in Fairbanks, son in Anaktuvuk Pass, etc. Her co-resident sons often distribute their shares in the same manner.

Members of the family also send food selections such as maktak, ugruk, walrus, and whitefish to relatives in the Kotzebue area, Kivalina/Noatak area, Point Hope, and a town in Montana. The family receives a variety of food items from many of these same locations through these relations or others which are active in the reverse direction. For example, the family might receive fresh maktak (in the fall) or sheep from the widow's brothers in Kaktovik, caribou dried in a preferred method from the widow's husband's relatives in Anaktuvuk Pass, and sheefish from Kivalina from one of the sister's husband's family. Regular exchanges are no more frequent, and are probably less frequent, than one-way transmittals. Often the gifts of food are preferred items that are produced locally and are not available in the other areas.

A significant relationship exists between Extended Family A and the widow's family, particularly her brothers in Kaktovik. She was raised there, and her children were born there. She gave her daughter for adoption to her sister, and has maintained an active mother-daughter relationship with her. Her sons were old enough to begin hunting with her brothers before the family moved to Barrow. At one time a brother was going to adopt one of her sons. The adoption did not transpire after the brother's wife died unexpectedly, but a special relationship was formed between the two which continues to the present:

> When I was growing up, it was always brought to my attention by the family that I was going to be adopted by my uncle in Kaktovik. So I knew there was a special relationship. I was his favorite when I was growing up; he gave me a stereo and records . . . In 1964, summer, he gave me new camping gear, including a tent, sleeping bag, etc. He always let me use his rifles, boats; I went hunting with him all summer. He supported my mom, my family, in the old days; sent her money each month. This summer, Uncle ______ gave my son 15 squirrels for a parka; my son is his favorite now.

These relations in Kaktovik comprise a substantial network of hunters who send maktak, whale meat, and occasionally sheep to the Barrow family network, and who may stay in their sister's home when they visit Barrow.

After the family moved to Barrow, one of the sons (household 2) was socialized into a special role to help the family by contributing cash to support the hunting activities of other remaining family members. Although he started out learning to hunt at a young age, he was encouraged by his father to become a wage earner "for the family". His brothers acknowledge that he was brought up differently; one said "[He] was always working when I was growing up, and I was always hunting. I was brought up hunting since I was small. Brother ______ was brought up in cash. My dad always told him to work."

The brother described his special socialization experience to us:

> When I was growing up, I went hunting when I was very young, but then started working after school. (How old were you when you started working?) Eight years old, and I was cleaning up white people's houses. In Kaktovik, my uncles took us out hunting on the ocean in summer, and with dog teams in winter; I was four years old. Then we came to Barrow, my father was busy during the year and only took me out in summer. We went for long walks out on the tundra, out the gasline road, etc., for caribou, and ducks at the Shooting Station. My father started taking brothers out more, but he talked to me about cash employment, 'You're helping us too, you're hunting in a way, helping the family, getting bullets and gas.' I understood that; I really wanted to go hunting, but I was working for the family, buying ammunition, etc. In the past, I never had the opportunity to go hunting because of jobs . . . Family always gave me something [meat]; I gave them things.

He still has this role in the family to some degree, and it extends to his uncles in Kaktovik. In the past two years, he contributed a substantial amount of store food to his family whaling crew in Barrow and fuel, oil, and a battery to his uncle's whaling efforts in Kaktovik.

This man is beginning to hunt now, which he feels is a logical outcome of having a family. He has a young son who will soon be of the age when he should be learning to hunt.

> I never had a reason before, but I have a son now and a family. Now have a family to support, you need to know those things now, especially with growing boy. As soon as he is old enough (I was four or five years old when

> I started), I'm sure he'll be going out. My son is going to be a hunter, too.

At an early stage in the life cycle of the Iñupiat family, it becomes culturally important for a man to hunt--to provide for his own family and to give his sons the opportunity to learn appropriate skills.

In addition to the relationships described above, the widow has an extensive network of eight or 10 individuals in Barrow who bring different kinds of meat to her. Some of these persons are relatives of herself or her husband, or are members of those families with whom her husband hunted in previous years. They are similar in type (i.e., gifting at irregular intervals) to those family relationships which extend to other villages. Also, certain members of her son's wives' families have become members of this network of contributors, particularly relatives of the whaling captain.

An important relationship has developed between the two family groups and apparently represents a union between a coastal and an inland family. The captain's wife is inexperienced in butchering and distributing sea mammals, and the widow has been "coaching her on dividing whale, cutting ugruk, knowing what to share, and who gets a share." The family captain goes inland in the spring and fall with his wife's family. He never hunted geese while he was growing up; he started after he met his wife.[20] In the fall, he goes inland for caribou hunting and fishing, and he harvests meat and animal products which are important for his family group and whaling crew. His wife's father built them a cabin near his own inland camp, which the captain uses for these needs. This summer, his wife and young son stayed out there with her parents while he remained at work in Barrow.

The captain estimated he needs about 20 to 25 caribou for his family group, for the winter. He also sets aside three to four fattened caribou and two or three sacks of frozen fish, particularly those with roe, for his whaling crew. He provides uraq (fermented walrus) and dried meat for the crew, and he supplies caribou skins which are used for sleeping mats on the ice at whaling camp. He gives caribou sinew to his mother, which she uses for sewing umiat. He estimates she and her team sew about ten boats each year.

The widow is less agile now, due to her age, and frequently telephones her daughters or daughters-in-law for assistance with the job of butchering the catch when her sons bring it to her house. She invites her single daughters to come help butcher and take some meat for their households; sometimes she has to wait until the workday is over for the women. She distributes the catch among the family members in this manner, and she teaches the younger women the methods of carving and distributing shares of different animals. She has taught one of her daughters how to sew the ugruk skins for covering umiat, and the captain is hopeful that his wife will learn the skill.

Meat is also processed and distributed at the captain's household. His wife helps prepare caribou and fish, and is learning to butcher the different sea mammals, which are distributed to other family households. She also passes raw and dried products from sea mammals to members of her own family, and has recently started to send some gifts of meat to her grandfather's sister in Atqasuk.

Extended Family B

This family network consists of an elderly widow, her adult son, and a grandson (also adult) in one household (1 in Figure 13), a conjugal household formed by one of her grandchildren (2), a widowed daughter-in-law with two children in another household (3), and a conjugal family of the younger widow's daughter in a fourth household (4). A fifth household has regular relations with this network, although it also has strong ties with another family group. The elderly widow is the (adopted) mother of the head of this household (5).

Each of these households serves as the locus of social relationships with others in this family group, and they each also have active ties with additional households in other networks. Household 1 serves as the center for butchering and processing sea mammals brought in by the widow's two sons (households 1 and 5) and her granddaughter's husband (4).[21] Several times during the summer, women from these households (1, 2, 3, 4, and 5), and occasionally others, join in the work of cutting up walrus, ugruk, and seal. Household 1 is conveniently

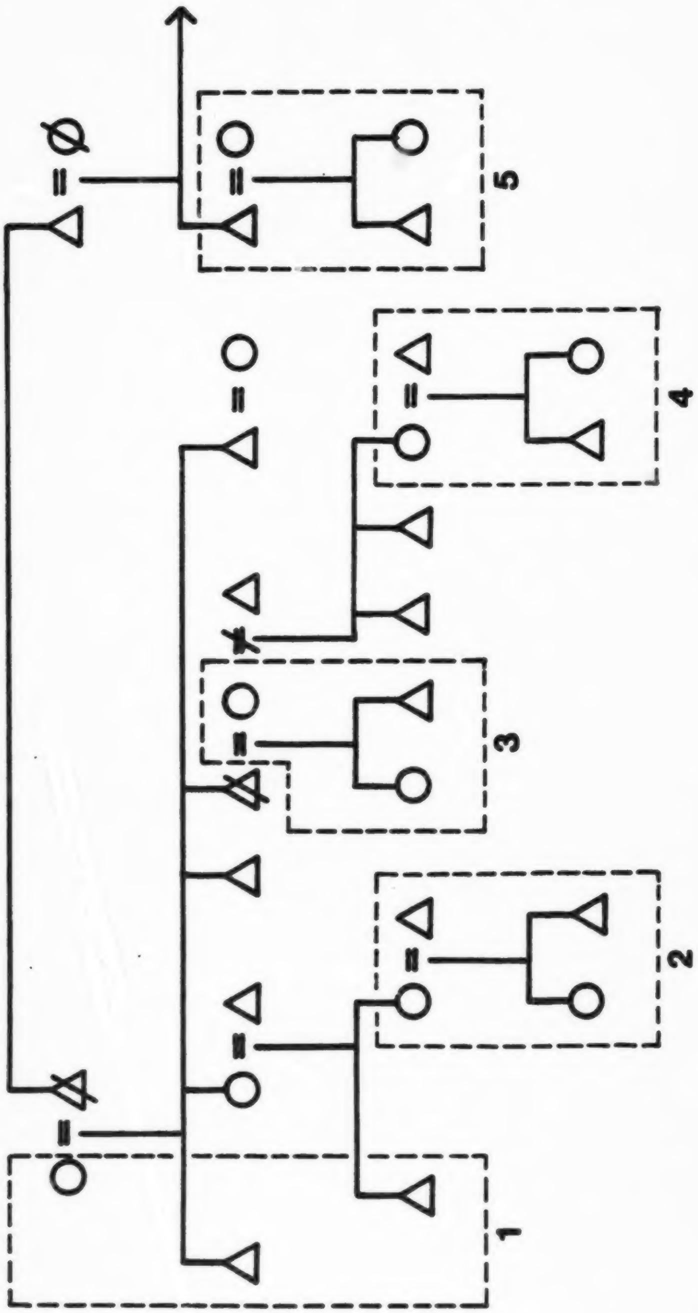

Figure 13. Diagram of Extended Family B

located close to the beach, and the boat used by the family is stored there. The widow is an active and knowledgeable butcher who has contributed to the education of her daughter-in-law and granddaughters (households 2, 3, and 4), who have lived outside the North Slope for significant periods of time.

Her youngest son, who lives in the home with her, also goes hunting and fishing at camp in the summer and fall with households 3, 4, and 5. Household 1 acquires dried and frozen fish, and caribou, from this activity. The son is on a whaling crew and receives a share of whale meat and maktak for the household, if he participates in the landing of a whale. In past winters, he has delivered ice (used for drinking and tea water throughout the year) to his mother's house and to some of their close relatives who live nearby, such as her sister's husband's parents.

The widow helped her son financially when he recently purchased another snowmachine. If he is not working, she will buy bullets and gas for his snowmachine, and supplies, "for going somewhere." She made him a new parka last year and provides him with a heavy hunting parka, one of her husband's, when he goes out. She provides the same type of assistance to her grandson who stays in her home, although he hunts less actively than his uncles. He came to Barrow from Fairbanks about a year ago, moving here primarily to find employment; he bought himself a snowmachine during the winter with his earnings. Both men in the household were out of work for most of the summer, after their construction jobs were terminated in the spring. The grandson found work as a taxi driver in September. The widow pays all the expenses to maintain her home from her husband's pension and her longevity bonus.

The widow also works to obtain shares of meat in her own right. If the animals are brought to her house, as we observed this summer, she provides tea and a variety of Native food refreshments all day long for the workers. During whaling time she contributes to two whaling crews, ". . . [I] give them money for something he needs because when they got a seal with us, they always give out a share. You know those people, when you help them, and they got a big whale, it's always a bigger share." Her efforts often increase in the spring, when fresh meat is most desired after a winter of frozen meat and fish. One year she took all her ulus, carving knives, pots and pans, and a large table, over to the household of a successful whaling captain to aid the task of butchering. She is able to widen her network through these actions.

Her (adopted) son (household 5) identifies himself with a different, although closely related, hunting family network. This summer, after a trip with them by boat inland, he brought her caribou quarters to hang and cuts of meat for her freezer. The meat he had hung to dry last year started to spoil, and she is showing him the proper method. He also uses her freezer and ice cellar for storage of his own household supply. She affectionately recounted the way he stopped over during the previous year to pick up some meat: "He used to come over, 'Mom, you got some more caribou meat [in the freezer]? I want to get some meat and cook for my family.' He's a cook." She giggled at the joke he made about himself doing the cooking, reversing traditional male and female roles. He also helps with bringing in ice after freeze-up.

Sometimes, she buys frozen fish from the Brower store. She also prepares a variety of Native vegetable foods and specialties such as pickled maktak. Her freezers enable her to keep a supply of fish and meat in storage over the winter; family members can expect her to have some Native food available to them when they make a request. She is a source of Native foods for other households in the network, particularly households 3 and 4.

She also makes parkas for members of the family; we observed her making mukluks and scraping squirrel skins for parkas for her great grandchildren. Her granddaughter (household 2) knows she likes to ride around Barrow, and during the summer she would stop by the house with her pickup truck to take the older woman for a drive. The granddaughter helps to butcher meat at this household, but since her husband, who is non-Native, does not care for the taste of sea mammals, she receives a smaller share. Members of household 1 have regular visiting relationships with different households. The widow's son frequently stops over at household 4, where he regularly ("two or three times a week") shares a meal. The grandson often visits his sister (household 2). Another household (in a different family network) is significant to household 1 because of an important relationship between an elderly couple and the widow. The two households have been situated close together for most of their members' adult, married lives (we estimate about 40 to 50 years). The widow's husband and the lady of this household were born and raised together in this section of town, and later they found permanent jobs with the (then) new hospital in Barrow.[22] A rich, warm, and enduring companionship bonds the widow with these individuals. She visits them everyday and is usually present for their midday meal of Native food. The widow reports "If they don't see me, they always call and tell me to come over." She sometimes contributes money or tanik food to their household, which normally includes relatives of younger generations being raised or cared for by this couple.

The young widow (household 3) participates in processing the catch of men in this family group, and she also has regular relationships with her brothers who are hunters with their own family network. One day this summer she excused herself from her (permanent) job so she could take part in cutting up several animals at her mother-in-law's house. Earlier in the spring, she made a substantial contribution of food and supplies for her brother's Nalukataq feast, after his crew landed a whale. She took advantage of a store discount for Nulakataq purchases. Her son-in-law (household 4) is on this whaling crew. She also takes her children out to her husband's camp for fall fishing and hunting with households 4 and 5.

There is daily visiting and social exchange between households 3 and 4. Visiting, doing the laundry, helping with household maintenance tasks, and sewing for a new-born baby indicates the content of this interchange. Members of one often share meals at the other home, and they may stay the night if they feel like it. The young son (14 years old) in household 3 hunts with the men in this network.

The couple in household 4 also have significant relationships with the young widow's (household 3) relatives, which gives them access to additional shares when the spouse hunts with them or his wife helps with the butchering. The husband serves on the whaling crew of his mother-in-law's brother. He also hunts caribou with an older man married to his wife's aunt (the sister of the widow in household 3). This woman also participates occasionally in the processing of sea mammals at household 1. Her husband is a member of a different hunting network (with his brothers), but he has a camp near to this family's inland cabin where they go hunting together. The man in household 4 described their relationship in this way:

> We share food, and vice versa; we lived in one of their houses for a while. Their camp is near ours at _______ [River]. [He] and I go hunting quite often in _______ [River], and fishing. They are basically hunters on their own, another family network which really extends out; we're just really good friends.

This household (4) has regular relationships with other households in Barrow, including relatives of household 1. The ties to one such relative, the brother of the older widow's husband, was described:

> We get fish and caribou from them, and vice versa. At Christmas, we take geese out to the elders. [This man] is [my wife's] uncle, we are over there 2-3 times a week. For a while I was on his whaling crew, for the first couple of years.

The young widow's husband in household 3 was the major producer of Native food in this family before his sudden and unexpected death a few years ago. He paid for the boat and outboard motor which the family group uses for sea mammal hunting (walrus, ugruk, and seal), and prior to that, about fourteen years ago, he built a cabin inland for fishing and caribou hunting. He learned to hunt on the land from his father, and he also had available the family ice cellar. He taught his daughter's spouse (household 4) much about these activities; this non-Native young man was an inexperienced hunter. Members of all the family households continue to use this equipment and share the products derived from the hunts and the fishing.

The young widow now keeps the boat which belonged to her husband. Any of the three hunters in the family may use it, and her brother (the whaling captain) also uses it. The boat is kept at her mother-in-law's house where there is more room for storage than by her house. The camp continues to be used by members of this family (households 1, 3, 4 and 5), particularly in the fall for fishing and caribou hunting. The widow and her son-in-law (household 4) purchased a raft for the camp several years ago, and he has transported a snowmachine out there.[23]

The man in household 5 identifies himself with another hunting group, that of his father and several brothers. He does much of his hunting with his own group, has common membership on a whaling crew captained by his brother, and shares the use of two inland camps and ice cellars in the village with them. However, he has several special relationships which link him closely with this extended family. As mentioned above, he treats the elderly widow (household 1) as his mother, though biologically he is her nephew (husband's brother's son). This relationship was formed during his childhood, when the woman raised him for several years while his mother was out of state for medical treatment. From this period, which occurred soon after his birth, he has called this woman his mother, and her sons are his brothers, with whom he has hunted through the years.

His natural mother passed away several years ago, which probably intensified his relationship with the widow. Shortly after, the widow lost her son (household 3) who was the primary provider in her family. This man has assumed some responsibility for providing meat to his (adopted) mother's household, which he does from his shares. But he also distributes some of his meat to other households, such as to his wife's relatives (which includes household 1 in Extended Family E described below). His brothers likewise may distribute regularly to individuals out of their own shares, as they prefer; for example, one of them gave a seal to the widow in Extended Family A this summer.

Although these kinship considerations are important, another factor is equally significant. A strong friendship exists between this man and the more inexperienced hunter who married into this family (household 4). They are about the same age, and are buying a vacation home together. The less experienced hunter visits him "nearly everyday," and they go hunting together several times a year. One of these two men described their hunting skills as complementary. The man from household 5 is better skilled at hunting sea mammals from a boat. He lived in Hawaii for several years after serving in the armed forces, however, and is not equally skilled on the land. The other man, who had learned much about fishing and caribou hunting inland with his father-in-law (who was also the other hunter's brother), would often out-produce his Iñupiaq friend on land. It was customary for the family to go to camp in the fall, for fishing and caribou. This matches the preference of the hunter in household 5, who does not enjoy the heat and mosquitos of summer. For at least the past two years he has taken his family on this fall trip with the others. He also shares in the use of his brother's boat and ice cellar as he wishes.

This man (household 5) put away a large supply of walrus, ugruk, bearded seal, and caribou this summer. He cut the caribou for hanging and storing in the freezer, and made uraq from the walrus. He had more time than usual for hunting this summer since he, too, was laid off in the spring from a construction firm. He had been regularly employed at this company for 11 years. He obtained a permanent job with local government in the fall. His wife has been steadily employed for several years.

The households of the widow's other children are dispersed into other communities. One daughter has a family in another North Slope village, a second daughter lives in Fairbanks with her husband, and a son is residing with his family on the Kenai Peninsula. This son is a commercial fisherman, but he returns periodically to the North Slope for stretches of employment. Another son is institutionalized in Anchorage. Although members of these households stay at the widow's home when they visit Barrow, the transmission of Native foods to these households is intermittent. A member of household 4 reported sending whitefish to relatives in Wainwright and Point Hope, and going to Nulakataq in Wainwright on occasion.

Extended Family C

Extended Family C is comprised of 21 members dispersed through five households. This kin-related group (including four adoptive relationships) are tied through two brothers, their wives and offspring. Also included are two brothers of one of the wives and the parent of one of the daughters-in-law.

The central household (1) includes a conjugal pair, their two young adult sons and a grandchild. The father is the only employed individual in this household. His adopted brother lives in an adjacent house (household 2) with his wife, an adopted adult son, a grandchild and two of his wife's adult brothers. The head of the household and one of the wife's brothers are the only employed individuals in this household (2). Household 2 has significant ties with their offspring living in two different households. They are not included as part of this network since interaction is limited to very infrequent dependency on their parents for basic needs (food, shelter). Household 3 is tied to Extended Family C through the son of household 1. He and his wife and their two children live with his wife's father (who adopted the wife as an infant). The only source of income in this household (3) is derived from the wife's father's retirement payments. As indicated in the diagram, households 4 and 5 are comprised of the daughters of household 1.

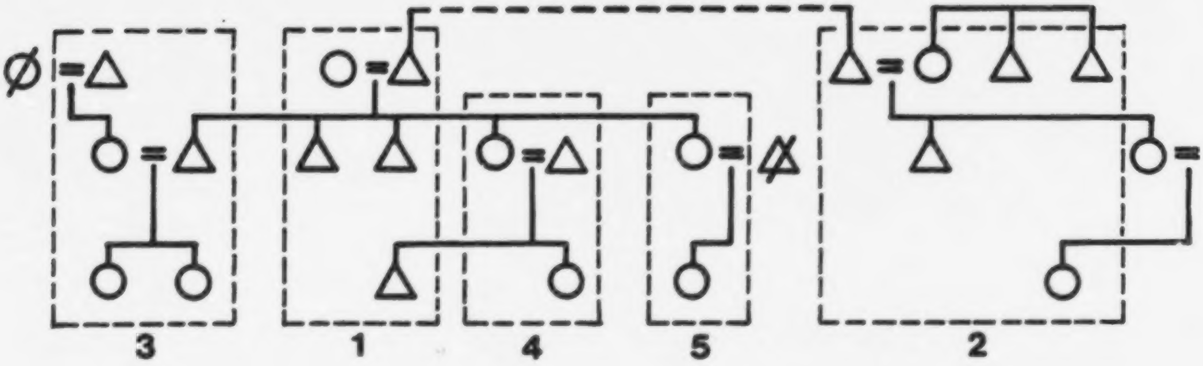

Figure 14. Diagram of Extended Family C

The males in this network are either wage earners or hunters. The three wage earners are the older men (in their late fifties and early sixties) in the group, and they have permanent, full-time employment. Their participation in subsistence ventures is limited to whaling and occasional inland hunting trips. Two of the wage earners are whalers (the head of household 1 is a whaling captain and the other a member of his crew), and they also accompany the hunters as their jobs allow them. The oldest man in this network does not work but lives off his social security and longevity bonus. The younger men (age range from 19 to 41) are generally unemployed and do most of the hunting. Hunting, however, does not occupy all of their time. During the peak hunting seasons the young men are quite busy, but during the off seasons they have few other responsibilities.

The fact that the young men do not work is viewed with some ambivalence. The mother in household 1 describes the interrelationship with her sons, "We really didn't take care of them, they hunting with _____(their father), he support them with gas, them hunt for their own food, I don't know where they get their money...." However, repeated references by the mother, "No, nobody works," immediately followed by the five year old grandson's statement, "Only Pappa," suggest that employment is a topic of much discussion.

Cash in this network is derived from the wages of the three men, life insurance payment to a widow, disability payment to one handicapped individual, social security and longevity bonus to the eldest individual and the occasional sale of arts and craft products. The two brothers (heads of households 1 and 2) and another male in household 2 are the only individuals in the network who hold wage jobs. Occasionally the younger men obtain temporary employment or the older women participate in the dances sponsored for the tourists during the summer months. Other cash goods come to one of the households through donations from the churches and the Mothers Club and milk from a government-sponsored program.

Almost all subsistence foods and goods are obtained by the sons of household 1 and the adopted son and one of the two brothers of the adult female in household 2. The hunters are the younger men in the network and they occasionally get temporary wage jobs. The men utilize the hunting equipment and supplies furnished by the wage earners. In one case one of the hunters bought his own snowmobile from income he earned during one of the brief periods he was employed. The adult female in household 2 produces the parkas and kammiks for the men in this household and her other children and grandchildren. Subsistence foods are also obtained by the whaling captain from other villages. He holds a job in which he is frequently required to travel to other villages. During these trips, he is able to acquire wildlife resources from the same individuals who receive shares of the whales taken by this captain. A significant portion of this extended family's diet is from subsistence resources. With the exception of subsistence goods and services purchased for the whaling enterprise (ugruk skins and sewing), this family does not buy or sell any subsistence resources for consumption.

This extended family exhibits a host of social problems, including excessive drinking, physical violence, child neglect, and the weakening of significant family ties with children and grandchildren. The family has not assumed care of at least two children. These two children were not receiving proper care, and they were subsequently placed in a tanik foster home under the custody of a state agency. The father of these two children was killed by a member of his family. The mother said she was "too young" to have the sole responsibility for rearing the children. She left Barrow and maintains minimal contact with her family. The grandmother (household 1) states that she would like to care for her daughter's children but cites the overcrowded conditions of her house as the reason she is not able to take them. She reports that the grandchildren call her "Akka" (grandma) when they see her and that they visit her home during the holidays. One of the grandchildren was also temporarily removed from her daughter's home by the state agency (DFYS) because the parents were drinking and fighting. The daughter's husband was placed in custody, and the daughter is attempting to regain custody of the child. Indications are that this is a recurring pattern.

Household 1 is the center of the network with offspring in households 3, 4, and 5. During the peak hunting seasons, interactions between father and sons are daily. The father provides the hunting equipment and supplies used by his sons living in his household and his son in household 3. The sons also repair and service the equipment. During one interview, the father came home for lunch and told is son to do something with the boat. The mother reported, "That's how he do, he (the father) just tell them do something and they work." The sons are the primary marine hunters (seals, walrus, ugruk) and inland hunters (caribou and fish). The subsistence resources are shared between these households immediately after the hunt and shared at later periods through numerous common meals. The father accompanies his sons on the inland trips during his extended vacations. The hunters range along the coast and rivers. They do not have a permanent hunting camp with a cabin. The sons are also members of their father's whaling crew. One son in household 3 stores some of his caribou and seals in his father's ice cellar. Other relationships include visiting, eating meals at household 1, and sharing of food including milk received by household 3 under a government program.

The parent/daughter relationships between household 1 and households 4 and 5 are less reciprocal than the household 1 and 3 father/son relationship. The daughters depend on their parents for their subsistence foods, but they do not appear to contribute services or cash to the support of the subsistence activities. The daughters occasionally assist their mother with household chores. The relationship between household 1 and household 4 is additionally strengthened through the traditional adoption of the grandchild. The daughter's son is being raised by his grandparents (the daughter's parents). The daughter maintains a relationship with her son through regular visiting patterns and taking him on walks. The child calls his grandparents "Mom" and

"Dad" rather than "Akka" and "Appa." This appears to be resented by the daughter who tells her son that she is "Mamma" but quickly adds, "I joke!"

Household 4 appears to be more dependent on the parents in household 1 for their subsistence food since both adults in household 4 are unemployed. The daughter in household 5 is less dependent since she receives regular income from her deceased husband's insurance. She also receives some support from her husband's family, including child care and parkas for her daughter.

The relationship between the two adopted brothers in households 1 and 2 is regular and frequent. Their houses are adjacent to one another. Interactions include visiting, eating meals together, and sharing subsistence resources. The exchange of subsistence resources appears to be limited to those times when one of the households is short of a particular resource. Members of household 2 also give their ugruk skins to the captain in household 1 when the umiaq needs to be recovered. Two members of household 2 serve on the whaling crew headed by household 1. Common hunting activities between these households are limited to the whaling season.

Relationships extend beyond this network, but they are less intense and tend to be one way rather than reciprocal. Household 1 maintains minimal relationships with a daughter who lives in Anchorage and with other relatives who live in Wainwright and Kaktovik. Relatives who come to Barrow stay at household 1 and eat their meals there. Some of these relatives give arts and craft items such as etched baleens to household 1, which in turn are sold to the tourists. The head of household 1 frequently travels to other villages because of his job, and he is able to obtain subsistence foods from relatives and friends in these communities, as described above. Relatives in these communities probably also receive whale meat and maktak from this captain, who has been successful in taking whales during the past several years.

The household 2 network extends to offspring who live in two other households; however, the relationship is not reciprocal. The parents sometimes extend major support (meals, food, and money) to their adult children and grandchildren but receive little material or services in return. The parents have adopted one of their grandchildren, but other grandchildren have been placed under the care of a state agency. One son lives in a house owned by his parents, and his electrical lines are hooked up to his parent's house. Another relationship extends through one of the wife's brother's participation in a different whaling crew from that of household 1. A number of other relatives are frequent visitors to this household as well. Relatives from Kaktovik and Canada also stay at this household during visits.

Household 3 is an impoverished family. The only apparent source of cash income is from social security and longevity payments to the senior head of the household. The deacons and Mothers Club donate food to this household on a regular basis.

The children also receive milk from a government program. Subsistence resources provide a bulk of the diet for the members of this household. Native food is obtained through the hunting efforts of the young male sponsored by his father in household 1. Another household outside of this network also contributes a substantial amount of Native food to this household.

The significant feature of this 21 member family is that only three members hold full-time employment. These individuals provide direct support for their household, and most of the financial support for the subsistence activities. One household lives close to starvation in a house that can be described as less than habitable. The family ties have all but been severed with children and grandchildren who have moved away or who have been taken by state agencies. Only one of the households can be described as a nuclear family, but even in this case, the father spends a great deal of time away from the home drinking or in jail. The other households include three generations of kin and lateral extended kin, or the head of the household is a single female. Although the young men in this network are unemployed, they provide a valuable contribution through their hunting efforts, which allows this family to sustain itself.

Extended Family D

Extended Family D is comprised of a husband and wife, their offspring, and spouses and children. The mother of the wife and

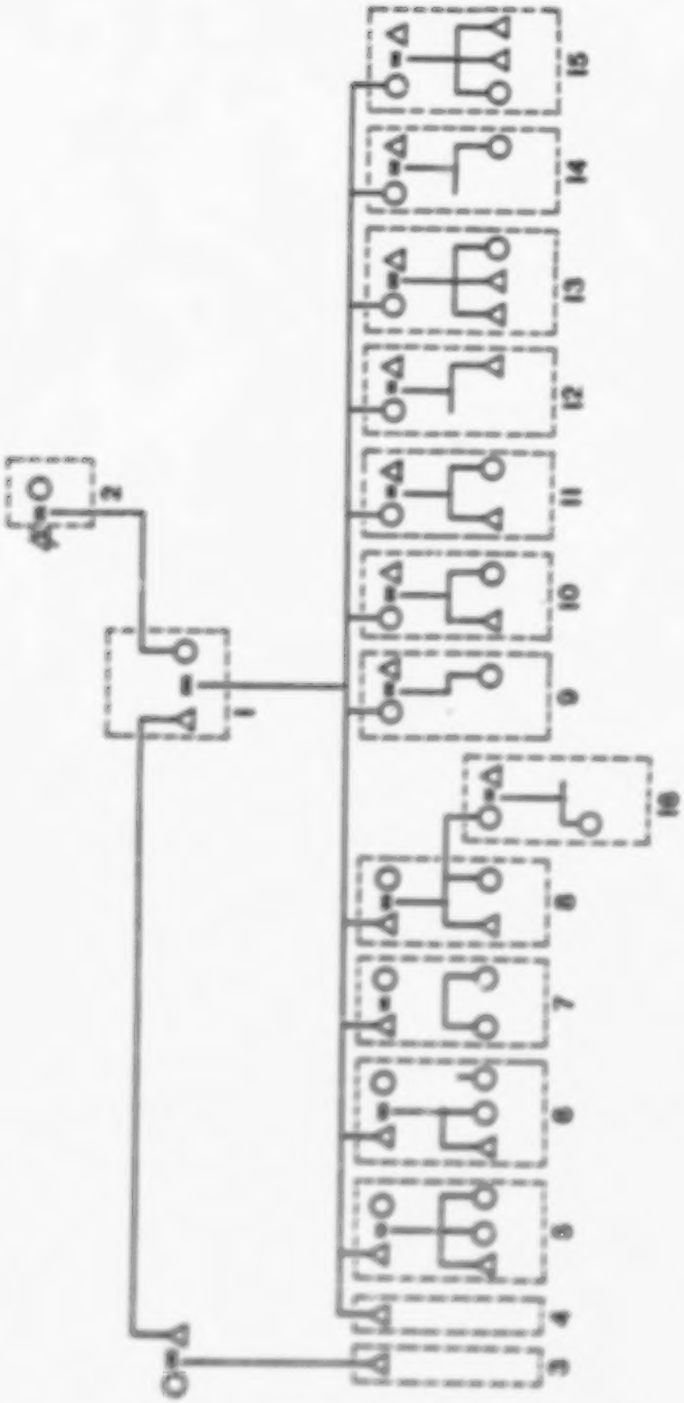

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Figure 15. Diagram of Extended Family D

a nephew (husband's brother's son) are also included in this extended family network. With the exception of three households, all are occupied by a conjugal pair and their offspring. Five generations are represented in this network. The 53 members are dispersed through 16 households located in Barrow and three other communities.

The social ties between the members of this family have remained strong even when family members have moved out of Barrow. Members of the two households who have established permanent residency in another North Slope village and Anchorage continue to visit Barrow frequently. They call one another regularly, and members who travel to these communities usually stay with them. Two other families rotate their residency between Barrow and another community. One family usually lives with the parents when they return and the other has their own home in Barrow. One of the older grandchildren returns to work in Barrow during the summer months and another visits his grandparents at their fish camp. The spouses who have married into this family, including the non-Iñupiat, have developed close ties to the entire family. Social interaction among those who live in Barrow is intense. Two sons built homes next to their parents house. These family members are in and out of the parents and grandparents' house on a daily basis. Rarely a day goes by that other family members do not stop to see or call one another.

This family contrasts with Extended Family C in that nearly every household has at least one family member employed in a wage job or running a family business. Seven households have both husband and wife employed and six households have only one member employed. Of the three remaining households, two are comprised of older members who are of retirement age. Only one household is occupied by young adults in which both husband and wife are unemployed. In this case the male works on a temporary basis. He is also the individual who spends extended periods, often as long as two month periods, at the fish camp. A significant portion of the camping expenses are paid for by the parents.

Subsistence activities (maintaining equipment and the camp, hunting, fishing, boating, butchering and preserving wildlife) have sustained close ties between the parent household and five other households. The five households are comprised of four offspring and a nephew. The significant factor which distinguishes these five households from others is that the spouses are all Iñupiat. Two of these four also have significant ties with other extended families. Those family members who are married to non-Iñupiat[24] are not actively involved in subsistence activities, although on occasion they will render support, such as helping to repair equipment, or they may visit the parent's fish camp.

The center of this extended family is household 1, which is occupied by the parents. They are an older couple whose major income is drawn from a small pension, longevity bonus, and the sale of arts and crafts products and fish. Two of the families which periodically live in this household contribute funds for living expenses while they reside there. Other family members appear to be quite generous with the parents and give them money, particularly when they go on trips outside the North Slope.

This couple spends up to six months per year at their inland camps. The wildlife resources they take are for consumption by members of the extended family as well as for sale. A significant portion of their diet is Native food. Fish, caribou, and geese are dried or stored in the ice cellar. One of the sons and his cousin (his father's brother's son) also spend extended periods at the camps. This year this son took his older son with him. Another son takes his summer or early fall vacations at the camps. He is usually accompanied by his wife and their children. The grandchildren begin to accompany their grandparents to the inland camps as soon as they are old enough to care for themselves. Daily radio contact (and more often up to three or more times a day) is maintained with the camps. Family members visit household 1 to call their spouses or children.

The parent's house is the center of family activity. Throughout the day and early evening, various family members visit in the large living room, which also serves as the center of the arts and crafts production. Often they sit around the dining room table which can easily accommodate up to 10 people. The mother reports that she never knows in advance how many people will eat at the house. Family members eat their lunches or dinner or just drink tea at the parents' house on a regular basis. Very often one of the girls will buy food for the meals and cook dinner at the house. It is not unusual for one of the daughters who would like to eat Native food, particularly those who are married to non-Iñupiat, to call and ask what is being served for dinner.

On many occasions the couple can also be found babysitting their grandchildren. Older grandchildren who live in adjacent houses frequently visit their grandparents. Babies can be expected to be carried on the backs inside of a parka by anyone of the several aunts who visit the house. The children in this family often visit and stay overnight with their aunts and uncles. They also accompany their aunts and uncles on vacations outside of Barrow, or to camps inland.

Two of the households have a special bond through an adoption. One household recently adopted a child from the spouse's sister, who lives in a different community on the North Slope. The two sisters call each other frequently to talk about the baby.

The mother continues to sew parkas for almost all of her children, their spouses, and children. Some are given as gifts, but usually the recipient gives the mother some money for the parkas. More recently one of the daughters began to sew parkas for her own family.

A notable characteristic of this extended family is that they have utilized the support of family members to gain entry into the political arena. At least three members hold elected positions.

Most households in this extended family are financially self-sufficient, but they continue to maintain close social bonds. The close relationships are evident in the behavioral patterns of visiting, sharing subsistence resources, and supporting one another whether it be in butchering an ugruk, repairing a motor, or voting in elections.

Extended Family E

In this extended family network, the central household (1) is compound in structure, consisting of an elderly couple and the conjugal family of their married (adopted) daughter. This household has increased in size as the number of small children has grown. There are kinship connections with two other conjugal family households (4 and 5) in the town which are structurally significant in this extended family, although each of them have primary ties to another network. A member of one more household (2), which is comprised of two brothers, has a special relationship with the head of the central family household based on cooperative hunting practices. Finally, the household of another (adopted) daughter (3) of the older couple (household 1) has regular relationships in the network.

The elderly couple have been retired for some years from their maintenance and janitorial jobs. They were very active in hunting and fishing both at inland locations and along the coast near Barrow, not moving permanently to Barrow until 1956. He was

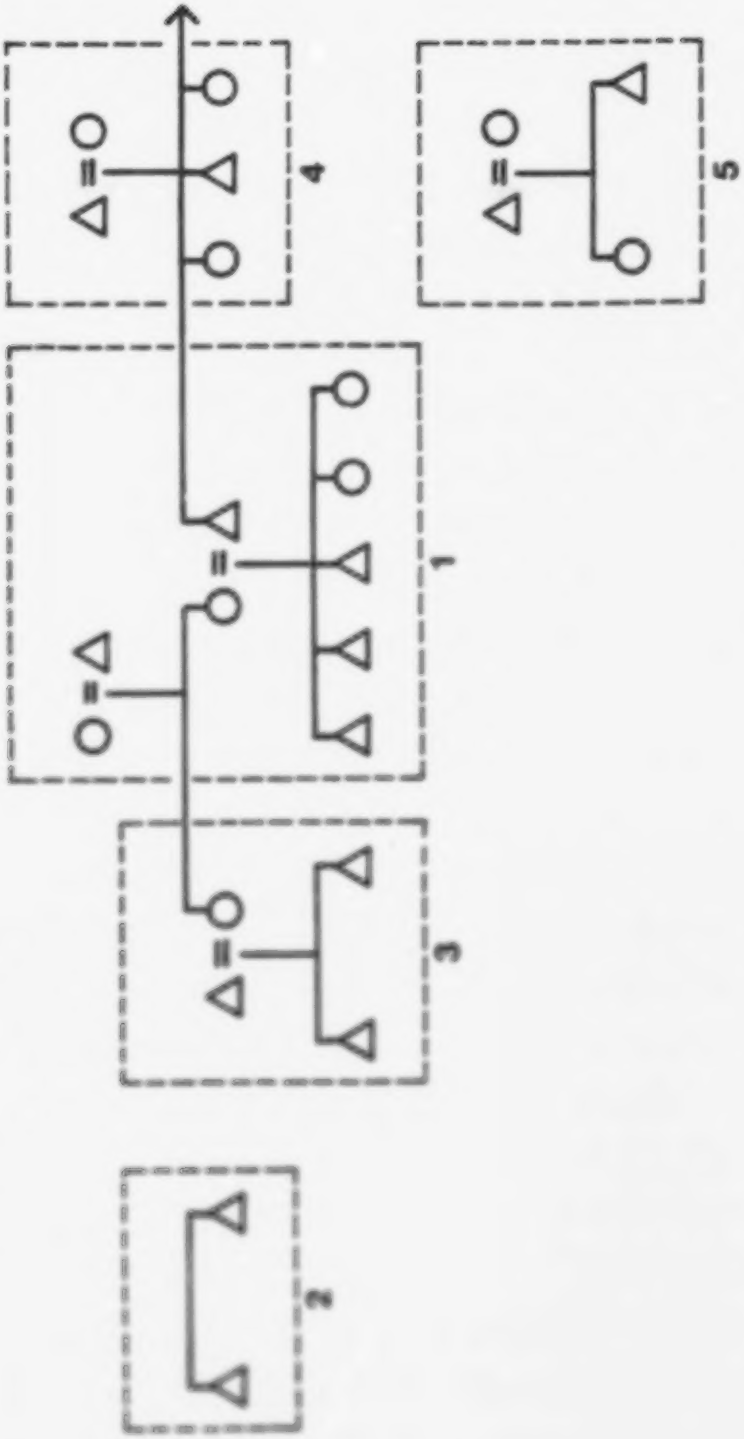

Figure 16. Extended Family E

a whaler on his brother's crew. Although they are not as physically agile today, they both are usually busy with some project or activity. They have a small cabin at the Shooting Station and go out there frequently in summer to camp and hunt ducks. With assistance from the younger men, the husband added a small bedroom to it this summer. His wife performed Eskimo dances for the tour groups twice a day during the season, which gave her some extra spending money.

If her husband's health is good, they are planning to go inland for ice fishing in the fall. He is busy in late summer making ivory fish lures for this fishery. He estimated that last year he sold 200 lures to community residents, including Natives and non-Natives, who go inland for grayling and ling cod in the early fall (before the ice is too thick). We observed him making an ice scoop out of steel mesh for this fishery.

There are frequent visitors and guests in this household. A large network of relatives and friends often stop in for a relaxed conversation and some tea or coffee, and perhaps some of the older man's homemade bread. Kids will come by for haircuts, and people will come to borrow a tool, ask the older couple a question about Iñupiat culture, or just to have some Native food. One of the more regular visitors sometimes sends her children to this home when she is experiencing marital troubles. "[Her son] usually stays at the house when there is a little 'relations conflict' at their family. He comes over and sleeps sometimes."

A relative of his wife, who grew up with her in camps along the Beaufort seacoast (and is the mother of their adopted daughter in household 1), stayed here for a month in the summer; this individual lives in Fairbanks at present. Many family relatives ("about 30-40") live in the Fairbanks area. They will prepare local foods not available in Barrow (such as blueberries or salmonberries) and ship them to the family here.

The mother and daughter of the central household are well known throughout the town for their prize-winning sewing abilities. Making parkas and kammiks has been a significant income source for this family through the years. The older lady used to sew mukluks for wages at Katie Brower's shop; she also joked that her husband had so many brothers for whom she made kammiks that her teeth have worn down. Her daughter bought a small house in town several years ago with the proceeds from her parka sales, which she makes on special order or for sale on consignment at Stuaqpak. They provide kammiks and parkas to members of their own household, and also to households 2 and 3.

Eighty to ninety percent of the food consumed in this household is traditional Native food (caribou, fish, waterfowl, sea mammals, etc.) This diet is a matter of choice, rather than a result of the high prices of tanik food at the store, since the household enjoys a comfortable regular income (from the older man's pension, rental of three houses in the town, and the proceeds of parka sales). The son-in-law has been intermittently employed in recent years, which is largely the result of his participation in the cyclically available CIP construction jobs. He has held 10 jobs in the past five years, and this summer we observed him in three different positions. His present employment is in local government; he values this position highly because it is a permanent, full-time slot in an economy where construction jobs are scarce.

The son-in-law goes fishing and hunting during the periods he is unemployed. He is more experienced hunting and fishing inland than he is on the sea. He hunts most often with members of his own network, his father (household 4) and brothers. He belongs to the family whaling crew captained by his father, who also has the boat which is used by this group for sea mammal hunting.[25] Household 4 is the central household in this other family network, and they distribute portions of their household harvest products to relatives in Wainwright, Point Hope, and Nuiqsut as well as to other Barrow residents. There is one employed person in the household (the wife).

The husband (household 4) regularly gives some meat (caribou, sea mammals) and ugruk skins which are too small to be used to cover his umiaq to household 1. Members of his household (4) visit the other and occasionally have meals there. Household 4 shares the ice cellar owned by household 1; the ice cellar belonging to household 4 is less secure (it is located in the midst of recent commercial construction) and is subject to pilfering by community members. The brothers often request the use of a snowmachine owned by their sibling in household 1 for hunting caribou in winter. Although they may not always care for it properly, he usually lets them take it. He gets a share of the catch when the hunt is successful, which is consumed in the central household.

The head of household 1 has a several brothers who also give him contributions of meat from their sources. Members of households 2 and 5 also have relationships with this household which entail regular visiting and interchange, having meals, and gifting of meat to the household. A large gathering is customary at this household for a Sunday dinner of Native food.

The spouse in household 5 is a cousin of the son-in-law in household 1. She visits the household several times each week. Sometimes, she brings food over, and her husband occasionally provides a portion of his catch to the household. Her spouse hunts with his own group (father and brothers), but he also has salient relationships with at least one other family group (see Extended Family B above), with whom he also hunts and shares equipment and facilities.

One of the two brothers comprising household 2 is a very active hunter and enjoys a special relationship with the head of the central household. His relationship with the older couple may have developed shortly after they lost a son on the ice, because the social interaction closely resembles a father-son tie. The older man is a very experienced and reflective hunter and he passed on his skills to this young man, who attributes his abilities and knowledge to this old man. They used to hunt together frequently. About four years ago, when he was more active, the older man made a sled for the younger man. The materials were supplied by the young hunter.

As mentioned above, the older woman makes kammiks and parkas for this man, and he also uses their ice cellar. The young man told us he visits their household "everyday":

> Usually for lunch, too. [laughter] They live close. I bring them Native food, regularly and they give me meals, too.

He either eats at home (with his other single brother) or at this household. He also maintains an active relationship with his own family network, usually hunting with his brothers, storing meat in the family's ice cellar, and having his catch butchered by his other brother's wife. He is a member of his older brother's whaling crew and has ready access to his boat for sea mammal hunting. But he shares much of his meat with household 1. His relationship with the central household influences the interaction in his own network. For example, he permits his young nephews to use his snowmachines, even though they do not care for it as well as he would like. "They get caribou for [the elder man], so I let them use it."

Household 3 belongs to another (adopted) daughter and her conjugal family. She recently returned to the community after residing in a different North Slope village for several years. She left Barrow at the end of summer this year to attend a special training school in another state. When in town she visits the central household often, nearly everyday by her own report, but her preference for tanik food means she frequently does not eat meals there. The two women in household 1 sew parkas for her family.

She maintains a close relationship with her natural parents' family, who are active hunters. Her family does not eat as much Native food as the other households in this family network, but when they do, it usually comes from her (natural) parents, who belong to a large and productive network, and her husband's family. If her husband hunts, he usually goes with his brothers. This couple has one adopted child, and they are temporarily (that is, while they reside in Barrow) raising a second child whose parents live in another North Slope village.

Extended Family F

Unlike the families described above, this family group is characterized by the scarcity of regular connections with other families in Barrow and the lack of significant participation in hunting networks or related activities. The root couple have few active relationships in town, and those that are more regular are maintained by the wife. This was unexpected by us because the man is a Barrowite who is related, as a cousin, to members of a very large Barrow family, whereas his wife is from another North Slope village. She grew up in a nomadic lifestyle, and her family settled in the village during the DEW-Line construction era (mid-1940s). Her husband left Barrow to work in her village

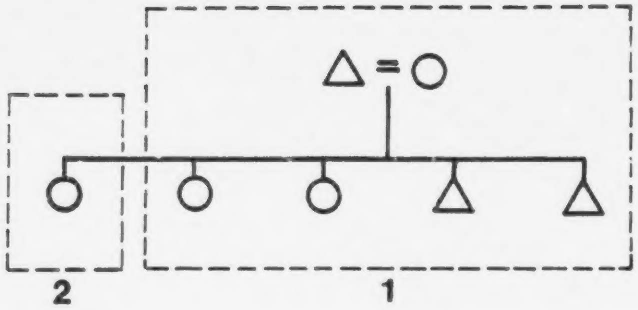

Figure 17. Diagram of Extended Family F

in the early 1950s, and they married and remained there until 1970 when he retired and took another job back in Barrow. They have lived continuously in Barrow through the intervening years.

Relationships with other households derive primarily from the wife. She maintains several active relationships with friends, some cousins, and an aunt in Barrow. Of equal, if not greater, importance are relationships with her family in her home village. She has several sisters with families in the village and she interacts frequently with members of her family by telephone and by travel back and forth to this village. The level of interaction with her home village is increased, at present, through two children who are residing there temporarily for employment purposes (CIP employment).

There are nine children in the family, five of whom live in Barrow. None of the children has married and thereby established significant relationships with other families. One child, their youngest, has been adopted out to a family in Barrow, which may result in regular interaction between the families. For the present, however, no special relationship between the natural and adopted families is evident. Visitors to the household include one daughter, who has recently established a separate household by herself, a friend of the wife, and a few friends of the children in the household. The frequency of visiting is less than in the households described above. "We don't have people drop by every day or two, but maybe once or twice a week someone may drop in."

Members of the family are not active hunters. Native food (meat and fish) is acquired by paying cash, contributing labor, or receiving gifts from relatives or visitors. They buy Native food at the store or directly from local hunters. The wife receives shares of meat from her own and her husband's relatives when she helps in butchering; she may go to her husband's cousin's house and that of her own cousins or aunt for this activity. Friends and relatives from their former village of residence sometime bring meat when they stay with them in Barrow. This type of interaction has increased with the recent growth of formal institutions in the region, which often have scheduled meetings in Barrow for village representatives of various boards and commissions.

The family also receives whale meat and maktak from relatives in other villages. One of her brothers-in-law is a whaling captain, which increases their likelihood of receiving a small gift. The householder gave this account of acquiring Native food during our discussion (questions have been deleted):

> [My son] catches some fish; but I buy mostly from store--like reindeer and fish. During the winter we get quite a bit of white fish from the store. Then [my wife] will help out her cousins and get some shares of ugruk in return. She helped [my cousin's wife] and got some meat in return the other day. Maybe 30 pounds or so, that's hard to tell. I don't usually go out; get Native food from the store. Like maktak, it sometimes comes from [village]. Relatives will send some. And [friends] sometimes bring some and stay with us . . . when they come for a meeting or something. During winter, I buy a lot of meat (beef, pork chops, chicken); we mix it with Native food. Sometimes we buy caribou when someone has caribou and needs cash. Usually [my wife] will ask. No caribou [is] sold in stores, only in homes. Generally agreed upon price, not by pound but by general estimate. We ask. Someone gets a lot of seal, we ask; then they set the price. We bought at least two or three seals a year, maybe. But in winter, we don't put meat in fridge but store it outside [pointing to a small shed on porch]--doesn't dry out that way like in fridge.

The husband owns a three-wheeler, a snowmachine, a large sled, and a rifle; but no other hunting equipment or ice cellar. One of his younger sons uses the three-wheeler "mostly to ride around, or he might go out and look for caribou on tundra." Concerning the snowmachine he said, "Relatives [his cousin's family] ask to borrow the snowmachine" [for hunting]. The husband is close to retirement and is not well, and he does not hunt. He was a more active hunter when he lived in the other village. He and his wife hunted caribou, fished, and camped out during the summers while he was off work. His companions were usually his wife's younger brothers, boys and young men, rather than hunting partners closer to his own age. Moreover, he worked steadily and dependably as a wage earner through the years; and he was not one to take subsistence leave during working periods.

The largest monthly expenditure for this household is food purchased at the store. Although sometimes a family member may not go to the store for as long as a week at a time, it is more usual for someone to go "every day or two." This pattern of expenditure is partly due to the low monthly payments for the home, which is provided at low cost by the husband's employer. It is also partly a matter that there are no hunters in the family, and the larger part of their diet is tanik food. The household income is relatively high and expenses are more than covered by the husband's current salary, retirement from his previous position, and rental income. He owns three houses, one of which is leased in a barter arrangement. Both co-resident daughters work, one on construction full time and the other occasionally as a babysitter, and his wife makes some supplementary income trading and selling furs for parkas. No pattern of pooling or distributing the separate sources of income from these individuals was apparent.

Like their father, the children have tended to be regular and dependable participants in wage employment, and in addition some have pursued higher education. Two of his children are living in a nearby village, as mentioned previously, for the opportunity to work. The construction worker (CIP employment) is saving to return to college, although she also expressed the desire to work in Canada or, possibly, overseas. She has travelled to Europe twice, first with a school group and then on her own. The eldest daughter, who has her own apartment in Barrow, also works in construction (CIP employment). She has worked in Prudhoe Bay and in Kaktovik as a laborer. At the present time she prefers this work to completing her teaching degree "so that she could buy a car first."

Visiting

A youngster knocks on a door and boldly asks, "Can I visit?" This is usually one of the first greetings strangers can expect to hear upon their arrival in Barrow, and it may represent their first encounter with the institution of "visiting." As these strangers leave their home, they look very much like the "Pied Piper," gathering children who follow them through the streets asking, "Who are you?" "Why are you here?" or "Where did you come from?" It is highly likely that these answers will be reconveyed to parents and other relatives.

It is through the innumerable, recurring informal contacts that information is exchanged and dispersed through the community. Information travels rather quickly through the many networks that intersect the community. One can learn about hunting conditions, who has been successful in hunting, who has left or arrived in town, who has a job, who has a piece of equipment that someone else might need, or who is selling parka ruffs. During the extended visits, stories are told and retold. Children passing through the house have the opportunity to learn these stories as well as relay information they have gained through their travels through different homes.

Visiting adds to the ways in which interpersonal relationships are established and maintained. In an earlier study of Kaktovik, Worl and Lonner (1982) suggested that the intense patterns of visiting were vital to the formation of consensus in the decision-making process of formal institutions. Similar processes occur within family groups in Barrow. The high level of social interaction associated with visiting contributes to the integration of extended families and the community, and to the socialization of the young.

Another significant function of visiting is the distribution of subsistence foods among family members. Visiting is most often associated with meals in which several members of the extended family from two or three households gather together. These common meals in which a significant amount of food is consumed are a regular occurrence in some homes throughout the year.

The dispersal of families through Barrow, Browerville, and more recently into NARL housing has not affected visiting. Modern communication and transportation systems have offset the urbanlike sprawl of Barrow, which one might have assumed would have deterred visiting. The community bus system has one of the highest per capita usages in the country. Elders are exempt from paying fares and are free to visit family members throughout the community. The bus route is extended out to the Shooting Station during the summer months so that visiting relatives who are living in temporary hunting camps is a possibility. Even riding the bus becomes an opportunity for friends and relatives to visit.

Full-time employment does not appear to have affected visiting patterns but rather increased the opportunities for interactions as well as affording business-related contacts. Coffee time is a favorite time for a number of individuals to gather together to review events and television programs of the previous evening.

Visiting in Barrow is not precipitated by formal invitation as is common in more urban settings. Visitors usually knock on the door and immediately enter the house without waiting for an invitation to enter. They are given tea and pilot bread if lunch or dinner is not being served. More likely the visitors are members of the extended family unit who may come as often as two or three times a day to the same house. The visits are generally unplanned, but they are fairly regular in their occurrence. Visiting usually begins at noon time and continues throughout the day and evening. During the summer months when the sun never sets, visiting is quite common until the early hours of the morning, particularly among the teenagers.

Visiting is not limited to the home but occurs wherever community residents congregate, such as in the restaurants, stores, churches, at athletic events, community celebrations, the showers in the school, or the workplace. Even the numerous meetings and public hearings provide opportunities for community members to meet. People visit when they are working on hunting equipment or butchering meat. Others walking along the street stop to talk to those who are working. One does not have to be in Barrow long before it becomes evident that a high degree of social interaction is the norm.

If family and friends are not physically visiting one another, they are calling each other on the telephone. Many families also have a citizens' band radio in their homes. Through the radio they are able to maintain contact with family members who are out hunting or boating. The radio is usually left on through the day, which allows families to monitor other hunters who regularly report their activities over the radio. If a hunter should take an ugruk or walrus, his immediate family as well as many others, will also have access to this information. The radio station, KBRW, is also a source of communication between families. Throughout the day, messages are relayed to family members in the outlying camps as well as in other villages. Travellers report their arrival time to family members or that a shipment of fish is on the way home.

Meals are an opportune time to visit. Many families expect that someone will come for lunch or dinner. One individual reported that she never knows how many people from her large family will come for lunch or dinner until they were actually there. When frozen meat or dried fish and oil (which require no additional preparation) is the menu, additional guests around the table are not a problem. Family members who work use the lunch hour to visit individuals who do not have jobs. Extended family members regularly have their lunches with their parents.

Visiting remains an opportunity to exchange information and maintain contact with family members and friends. The changes in Barrow associated with the increased population, the physical expansion of the community, wage employment, and the additional community activities have not adversely affected visiting. The indigenous population has, in fact, utilized many of the changes associated with the recent modernization of the community to enhance visiting opportunities.

Hunting, Butchering, and Sharing

Although all of the relationships described in this chapter integrate members of many different households, it is through hunting, butchering and sharing relationships that the pattern of extended families is expressed most clearly. For men, the basic consideration is with whom they go hunting. For women, it is who calls on them to butcher and process animals and with whom they do this. If the householders are older persons, an important question is who gives or sends them Native food. Another salient factor is where or with whom is Native food consumed. This line of questioning yields important information on the regularity of social interchange within and beyond the family group.

These questions focus on the provisioning of households, specifically identifying the individuals who are the primary sources of meat and other products. The resulting patterns of household interaction are wide ranging throughout the community and beyond it. But regular interactions emerged; these regularities are the basis of the diagrams given above.[26] The primary element in these relationships is participation in hunting and sharing networks.

We estimate that over 50 percent of the Iñupiat households in Barrow participate in active (i.e., producing) hunting networks.[27] These households provide most of the Native food that is distributed in the community. Our figures agree with the observations of a discussant who arrived at a similar proportion:

> Maybe a third of Native families are this way; a third to a half, it's the extended family that does it, because quite often there are only one or two hunters in the family, and they provide for those in the work force.

The structure of hunting groups has many features of flexibility and optionality characteristic of Iñupiat kinship, although they are formed frequently and are usually of short duration. Most hunting is done in groups, and more often than not there is a relation of an extended family (network) type within the hunting group. The general pattern was described in these words:

> Mostly, the whole family sticks together when they go out hunting. We kind of hunt each of us for our own families; best to go together and get a whole bunch.

Whaling crews are the most highly structured, regular, and permanent over time of the hunting groups. Ugruk and walrus hunting crews are also structured although not to the degree of whaling crews, and fishing and caribou hunting groups are the least structured.

The structure of whaling crews is based on a core of extended family (kinship) relations, comprised in the familiar pattern of a father (the captain) and his sons but also including more extensive relations (cousins, nephews, and special relationships). Sometimes crew membership is the result of a special relationship between an individual and the captain or his father before him. An example is drawn from the crew described in Extended Family A: one crew member is the captain's deceased father's nephew, and another man is on the crew because "he was on my dad's crew when he was young." Both of these individuals are a cousin to the captain.

One captain made it a point to bring younger men on his crew to educate those who did not have the opportunity to whale in their family groups. He spoke about a young man on his crew, "His dad died a long time ago, . . . didn't have a father to teach him. Distant relative, he wasn't well groomed." Relationships between captain and crew may be kin or otherwise, such as a need for an experienced harpooner or for material resources (cash, equipment, etc.) or a combination of both. We recorded a female crew member, a niece of the captain, who receives a share based on her ownership of the harpoon which she won as a prize.

Crews that hunt other sea mammals--ugruk, walrus, spotted seal--are smaller and less formally structured. That is to say, there are fewer roles and greater variation in the composition of these crews over time.[28] Individual hunters are freer to go in different groups and may hunt with several different boats in the course of a season. Boat owners have similar responsibilities as whaling captains; i.e., they are expected to bring supplies and food sufficient for the trip. They have more freedom about who they can ask to go hunting with them, allowing them greater opportunity to structure crews as they wish. We observed one man who solicited the services of a well-known marksman on several ugruk expeditions because he was in need of ugruk skins for his umiaq. This meant his sons had less opportunity to go out with him this year, although he reported that he hunted with them.

With permission, boats can be used by other hunters in the extended family network, but use of such major equipment by hunters outside the family group does not usually occur unless one or more family members is on the trip. The same is true in the use of permanent camps (cabins) inland, which are usually outfitted with a full inventory of camping and hunting equipment (stoves, heaters, CB's, small boats, outboard engines, snow-machines, three-wheelers, fish nets, tools, etc.).

Caribou hunting and fishing are the least formally structured of hunting activities. Often these are household activities, taking place at inland camps in the summer and fall, where members of a single household may go for a week or two or for as long as a couple of months. Caribou hunting may involve either a small group (2-4 men) or an individual hunting alone. Hunters may venture out from Barrow, or they may use an inland camp as a base. One family group (a father and several of his sons) piloted a large boat from Barrow up one of the rivers for a few days this summer and returned with 11 caribou.

Although the composition of camping groups comprised of more than one household is normally derived from the extended family network, sometimes young men and boys from a wider network will participate. For example, one older couple recently took a nephew and a young man from their son's whaling crew ("who often gets together with our son at the house of the captain") with them to camp. This young man "learned a lot about hunting" while he was out there. Neither of these individuals is included in the couple's large extended family network (Extended Family D).

At other times, caribou hunting is very loosely structured among friends and workmates. People will decide to go out together on short notice, and individuals may borrow snow-machines from a wide circle of friends. Individuals may go out at any time during the year when caribou are near (i.e., summer or winter).[29] Other species are also hunted (such as polar bear, moose, and sheep) or trapped (including wolf, wolverine, and fox) in small groups or by solitary hunters. A few old men in Barrow still hunt seals on the sea ice unassisted by others. Several individuals set out nets in the lagoon at the Shooting Station in summer.

If a man has several brothers or a father has sons, it can be expected that the hunting activity will normally involve the cooperation of more than one of the relatives. The general pattern is described in the following comments given by a hunter in response to the question who he goes hunting with:

> By myself in winter and with my brothers in spring, summer, and fall. Go with [one brother] in spring and fall and I am a member of my older brother's whaling crew.

This unmarried hunter remains closely associated with his brothers, sister-in-law, and nephews for hunting, processing, storing (ice cellar), and sharing equipment. Each of the brothers has a snowmachine, the captain has a boat and motor, and he has a sled. If he marries, he may be brought into association with another family network, and his association with his brothers may shift.[30]

The developmental cycle of the family is a factor in the pattern of interfamily relationships based on hunting, butchering, and sharing. One example is described in Extended Family A above. The whaling captain's wife's father built a camp for him inland, which is the base for production of caribou and fish necessary for his whaling crew. In this case an affinal relationship has brought an inland family (the wife's) into close association with a whaling and coastal hunting family network.

There are many exceptions to the general pattern. Extended Family B, for example, includes two widows. The family network, though gravely affected by death and misfortune, is maintained in part through close association of these households with members of others. The men and women in this group have active relationships in diverse networks, which in sum give continuity to this family. One hunter in this network is, by hunting criteria, a member of another group comprised of his father and brothers. However, he has a significant role in this network as a primary producer, an adopted son, and a close friend in the younger widow's son-in-law. Extended Family E has similar characteristics. The most active hunters in this group have regular hunting relationships in other networks, but the collective result contributes to the maintenance of this family group.

Other exceptions are more immediate and practical. Often a hunter wants to go out or the sea ice conditions are right and the opportunity must be acted upon without delay before the wind changes direction. Association with many friends and companions beyond the family network provides a hunter with sufficient personnel to take advantage of available opportunities. Wage employment, with eight-hour days and the requirement for scheduling leaves and vacations in advance, often encourages the formation of non-family hunting groups as a matter of convenience.

In another family, also structured in the general pattern of a father and his sons, one of the sons has opted for a solitary role and participates rarely, if at all, in family-based hunting and distribution activities.[31] Accounts of this type of independent behavior were not limited to the modern village of Barrow;

one discussant reported that individuals acted in this manner prior to World War II:

> Sometimes one family would be more successful [hunting] and others wouldn't. However, there were persons in the community who had no desire to contribute. There were people who existed who wouldn't share their food even when they [less successful families] went through hardships. They sort of [disowned], sort of stayed away from that relationship.

With new technology the necessity for cooperation among hunters has been reduced to the extent that cooperative manpower is replaced by motor power. This is particularly the case with large sea mammal hunting (walrus, ugruk), which in the past was undertaken with umiat that required crews of sufficient size to paddle the boat through the water.

> Lot of times in the past the [more] well-to-do than others usually have a boat or canoe. But today there are a lot of aluminum boats. Somebody buy that and they travel on their own without having to depend on somebody. Back then, certain people had boats. One was a [big] whale boat that had been obtained from whalers. Then the canoe, umiak, that's the only way the people could get at the animals like walrus and whale. So people had to work together, share things, be a member of the crew. The captain of that whaling crew usually had those same people or somebody that want to go along or want to go hunting with him. There was no power except manpower. If you going to be out there with a canoe, and your a captain without any men to paddle that canoe, you are not going to go anywhere!

Another hunter offered a similar observation. Both of these hunters were commenting on changes in sharing patterns, pointing out that when manpower is decreased, the distribution of the catch is likewise reduced:

> There are things that make for a lot of changes. Today, you get an outboard motor and as long as you have money, you can go out all by yourself. In those days, people had to use the umiaq to get anywhere.

> Especially on the coast where people lived off the sea animals. Usually in June or July before the ice broke up, individual persons had kayak so they could go out by themselves. But that's restricted. You couldn't take a boat way out in the sea [by yourself] and load up a carcass of a walrus. So those boats were pretty valuable because they could carry big loads. [But everybody couldn't afford those boats?] That's right. [Only] good hunters, good trappers, usually obtain those whale boats. When they go out there, they share things, ugruk, beluga. When someone catch a seal, usually they keep that. But large game, that's where people had to work together. Today, it's different. A couple of you might go out together and get a walrus and take it home. The hunters may keep it themselves or let others know they have it; share it with the others; have others help in cutting up the meat. Those that help take some of the meat.

Changes in the size and composition of cooperative hunting groups have impacts on the sharing and distribution patterns. It is interesting to note that in Barrow, where umiat continue to be used in spring whaling, the size of whaling crews remains large. The distribution of whale meat was frequently cited by discussants as the one species for which the wide ranging sharing practices have remained unchanged.

For dividing the catch there is a system of shares and rules for distribution of the meat among the households involved in the hunt. Distribution of the whale is very strictly governed according to the type and level of assistance rendered to the successful captain and crew (Worl 1978; Vanstone 1962). The largest share goes to the boat which first struck the whale; the share is divided among the captain, crew, and the boat (the latter going to the boat owner if different from the captain). Much of this maktak and meat is redistributed extensively in the community during the celebration feasts at Nalukataq, Thanksgiving, and Christmas. Other boats which assist in landing the whale also receive shares. Finally, smaller shares are distributed to community members who help pull the whale onto the shore ice, participate in butchering it, or make contributions of food or money to the captain for maintaining his crew on the ice or at Nalukataq.

This system, which is based on making contributions to the hunting expedition, provides for wide ranging sharing and dividing the whale among many individuals in the town, which extends to other villages and cities, even out of state, through secondary distribution. Several older residents and widows described their practice of sending food, such as flour and bread, or small amounts of cash, to the captain, "and I get a share that way." One crew member described the pattern of contribution in this way:

> [Did you contribute to whaling crew supplies?] Lots of dried food, meat which you boil to eat, lots of donuts, caribou, fish (one sack), staples (bacon and stuff for breakfast). Crew members throw in stuff if they have it. The captain or co-captains usually supply the gas, we supply the labor in making or repairing the boat in the winter, each of us contribute skins for the boat. [Do you pay women to sew skins?] The captain pays the elderly women who do it. The labor used to be accounted for in their share, used to give them a bigger share, but now because of the cost of staple foods it really helps them with their income, helps them more that way. They still get their share of the food.

With walrus, ugruk, and smaller seals, other rules apply which are similar in structure. As in whaling, a boat share is automatic and goes to the owner/captain. For walrus the boat share includes the head and with ugruk, the skin. Women have a major role in the division of the catch.

> It is divided up among the hunters and the women who cut it up. If a woman works whose husband is not in the hunting party, she gets a share; her share is smaller than a hunter's share, but it is enough for her household. The men make it a point of calling the wife of the hunters. It is expected that they will help, unless they are [sick or something].

We observed the division of a particularly large catch--seven walrus and one ugruk--brought in by three hunters. Men are needed to help with large animals such as walrus, which have thick and heavy skin, and large joints. In this instance, two of the hunters had jobs and they went to work, leaving the third hunter who received assistance from his unemployed brother. They did the heavy cutting and tied the pieces of skin folded over to make uraq (fermented walrus). In addition to the wives of the three hunters, the women working on the animals included three other close relatives. One woman, a widow, took time off from her job to help, and another woman worked for several hours before she had to leave and catch the plane to Anchorage. With this much meat, there was a lot of work, but the mood was almost festive as other people stopped by the yard and commented on the activity. The passers-by shared in the fresh delicacies and the food and tea provided continuously throughout the day by the householder.

The entire group of hunters and butchers were close lineal relations, or relatives' spouses, descended from two brothers. All the participants received shares for their households, a total of six, and the hunters also made secondary distributions to other households out of their shares. In a departure from the usual practice, the walrus heads were distributed among the hunters according to their shooting success--two hunters received three each and the other had one head.

Shares of meat are distributed among the participants in part on the basis of their role in the hunting and butchering activity, which takes into account any contributions of cash or equipment and in part in the expected consumption level of the participants' households. Individuals receive shares adequate for their household rather than simply an amount sufficient for themselves alone. One of the ladies received a small share, enough for her to have a meal for herself at home, since her non-Native husband does not care for walrus or ugruk. On the other hand, another of the butchers, whose husband is also white, received a larger share because members of her household consume the meat.

The more typical catch size is one or two animals, which does not require as large a number of butchers. Often one or two women will be called on to carve up a seal or ugruk, for example. Most of the catches we observed were of this size; usually the animal was brought to the household of the boat owner or that of a close relative of his such as his mother. This woman would call on other women for help, if needed, and thereby exercise responsibility over the distribution of shares. By calling a widow, for example, she can provide the woman an opportunity to acquire Native food for her household.

Barrow hunters may experience a scarcity of available butchers for their animal during periods of high demand when hunting is good. For example, we observed a man butcher an ugruk because the women of the family were all inland, travelling to meetings out of town, or were susceptible to seal finger.[32] The hunters turned to another woman (a cousin) to butcher the animal, but unfortunately they reached her just after she was engaged by someone else to help with their catch.

With caribou and fishing the sharing rules are yet more informal with the meat shared among close family members working together on the hunt or at camp inland and the hunters sharing out from their cache of meat in subsequent secondary distribution. Often families carry out caribou hunting for themselves, in contrast with walrus or ugruk.

> [What about the seal, ugruk, walrus?] The women usually do the cutting up of all of those, and giving away the shares. The whaling crew that [my husband] belongs to, he goes out and goes hunting with those same men for the ugruk, and sometimes for the caribou, but usually they split up and go with the different family groups for the caribou hunting. Say the men caught an ugruk, the women are called, I would go over there and help cut it up, and then come home with the share, either hang it out or do something with it. The bearded seal is the one they usually put out to dry, its good. And they've got the best blubber and seal oil. [And do you render that yourself?] Yes, I do, I get a big piece with my share and then I cut it up. [Did you do that last year?] Not last year, the year before. Last year, we just did not get very much, we were gone so long.

Hunters draw a contrast between sharing caribou and the larger sea mammals (walrus, ugruk, seal, etc.). The following account of dividing caribou is taken from our notes:

> Same sharing as with ugruk and walrus with the exception of sharing with women who cut up ugruk. I explored the one apparent difference in that women could not come to help butcher and so get a share of the caribou. I asked how these women would get caribou. "If you're related enough [you could get some]. Widows--their sons, brothers, nephews--they're hunted for.

Barrowites go to camps inland in the fall for ice fishing and caribou hunting; and the family groups work together:

> [Who butchers meat?] The family group (camping group) butchers. We get up and check the nets in the morning, then have time to scout around for caribou during the day. We come home before dark, may check the nets again, once or twice a day. We set nets in different places, some are in lakes a little ways away; it's OK if you check them every other day.
>
> [To whom do you usually give caribou/fish?] We divided it up when we come home [back to Barrow]. The fish is more for the family group who goes camping. Caribou is mine, it goes to my family, to mom's house, brothers, neighbor. It is more flexible than whale.

After shares of meat have been divided among the men and women who cooperated in the hunt, there is often another distribution by those who have received a share. This has been described as secondary distribution (Langdon and Worl 1983). We have pointed out that hunters are responsible for providing meat out of their share for their family household, and then they share the remainder "with just about the whole family" (ilagiit) and with people outside the family.

> Just about everyone does that, shares their share with someone, take it out to people who don't really have any hunters in the family.

Hunters express the general pattern of sharing meat with different families (those of relatives, neighbors, friends, and older people who don't have hunters in their family) frequently with caribou, fish, sea mammals, waterfowl, and other Native food.

Acts of sharing are described as if they are regular and frequent, even daily, occurrences, though they may be occasional. Sharing appears to be almost casual. Often it is carried out on the initiative of the person with the meat to share.

> They'll bring over, like last night, my sister brought over some walrus meat. Her boyfriend got a share of some walrus, and they took some around to us. I got a box, maybe about 20 pounds.
>
> Just whenever they feel like it. Some people, when they get the first catch of the year, they share it. Like when my son . . . got a walrus, they always try to give away to the older people and the widows.
>
> Roberta stopped by her mom's house today and her mom said that her brother got a caribou. She told Roberta to take some of the meat. Roberta said how good it felt to have her share that meat. Roberta went back over to help her mom cut and wrap the meat for the freezer.
>
> I go to my aunt or uncle's house. I'm a single Eskimo woman, so usually if there is a Native man that has some, they'll share or I'll just go to one of my aunties or uncles or cousins or friends. I don't have a man to hunt for me so I have to rely on my relatives.

One of the hunters we interviewed, when pressed with the question of whom he shares with outside the extended family, responded:

> . . . friends and neighbors, and some old people I know, and some people on my wife's side of the family since they don't have a father who can support them. That way they're grateful, and they'll bless you for some more, hopefully. Just about everyone does that,

> shares their share with someone, take it out to people who don't really have any hunters.

It is typical for hunters to have a list of people to whom they will distribute when they have Native food to spare.[33] Several times during the summer we observed spotted seals that lay outside peoples' homes, and when we asked about them we learned that they had been left by a hunter from another household. Usually it was not an isolated behavior, but rather the person brings by some meat from time to time (i.e., regularly) to someone in the household. Nor was the sharing limited always to families without hunters. In one case a man had been hunting seals strenuously but without success, and a small seal (a favored delicacy) was left for his wife.

With regard to sharing patterns, the distinction between family and nonfamily is not always as salient as the existence of some social relationship between the two individuals and the perception of a recipient's need, or lack, of a particular item. Adoption, names, and partnerships may serve as the mechanism of social relationships, in addition to kinship, or there may not be a defined structural connection at all as may be the case among neighbors, friends, co-workers, and fellow church members. Sometimes an active connection between households is based on a pre-existing relationship between two individuals, one of whom has passed away. In such cases, the relationship is continued with the wife, or children, of the deceased individual. We observed distributions of meat to a widow whose husband used to have a close relationship with the head of another family. The two men had hunted together and maintained homes close to each other for many years. The two families exchanged meat frequently through the years, a relationship that is maintained in the present by the sons of the surviving hunter (who is not as active as he once was). The widow told us that "[He], when he was hunting, was always giving us meat." Now the hunter's sons bring meat to the widow's household.

In this family household a substantial portion of the gifting network is based on relationships historically established and maintained by the deceased family head. According to one of his sons, he had many regular hunting and sharing relationships.

> My mom used to hide food from him, for her to cook, so he would be able to hunt. He would give all his food away. When I was growing up, people were always coming over. The family did not have much money, but never wanted for nothing; never wanted food and clothing. People would bring it over.

Other households in Barrow have similar relationships based on connections made in an earlier period. Usually there was a hunting partnership which brought the family groups into association, and the distribution pattern is maintained by the surviving kin. We observed a family travel to a funeral in another community because "the families were close." In this case, two widows and their offspring maintain a relationship established when their now deceased spouses hunted together in the past. This relationship was recognized when one of the man's sons died unexpectedly in the other village, and the family travelled to attend his funeral.

In another example an individual was approached for a loan by an older man who was short of cash. While he was deliberating the matter, his wife mentioned that this person had once helped her deceased father with money to buy a house. The man received his loan. Although there was no regular relationship established between the man and the deceased individual, the younger man acted as if the earlier behavior of the old man was sufficient to establish an ongoing relationship.

The earlier relationships, on which the present connections are based, often have the characteristics of a partnership since they usually involved regular hunting and exchange behavior. Partnerships are less frequent among younger families. Most instances of regular distributions based on this type of relationship occurred among older family members. When younger Barrowites mentioned partnerships, the Iñupiaq word they used was panaq. This term was differentiated from the traditional partnership relationships and was treated less formally; it was usually more equivalent to a friendship than a regular economic relationship.[34]

It is conventional to ask another person for meat if one is lacking a preferred or desired item.

> Some people in wintertime might ask me, "You got uruq?" They get ready to eat, and they don't have any of that kind, oil or something, they used to ask and we shared with people who don't have any.
>
> One man said when he wants something, he asks his brother if he has any walrus, ugruk, or something. The brother may say "I don't have any," or "Ask my wife" if he has some.

This behavior is an alternate form of the traditional cooperative sharing relationships initiated by hunters. More recently, there has been a decline in this asking behavior, indicating that sharing patterns are changing further in modern Barrow.

> I asked with whom does he share his Native food. He answered, "They used to come to ask a long time ago, but they don't anymore." When I asked why the difference, he responded that maybe they were bashful to ask and added, "but sometimes they could ask, but not like before." I asked again, "I wonder why they don't ask anymore?" [His wife] answered, "Maybe the NSB start feeding them, that's why they don't ask." She said that the people who used to ask were the old people, she added "now they ride the bus for free." She was referring to the buses that pick up the elders to bring them to the senior citizen center where they have lunch. She added that she likes to ride around on the bus.

There was general agreement among most of our discussants that there is less sharing than before, that there is less distribution to relations in the more extended kinship slots, and that sharing itself has changed to resemble a barter transaction rather than being an act of goodwill and without an expectation of return.

> It's getting low now. It's different. It's changed a little bit. Some relatives they don't take care of now, try to make money selling it for themselves, like when they go fishing. Seems like they don't care about other people anymore just for themselves.
>
> When I was growing up, people were sharing more, and they weren't fighting for themselves. Everybody shared what they got. [People aren't sharing what they got now?] No, everybody is selling what they got now. Either they have to get payment for something, or they have to get something in return; that wasn't done a long time ago.
>
> Some of them don't help anymore; some are still doing that. Sometime when they see someone in need, they go and help.

Many discussants talked about the sale of Native food by community members. Some were sellers, others were buyers. Usually, prices are not set but are negotiated at the time of the transaction. The exception is dried fish; normally the seller establishes the amount he or she wants. Prices for the same items varied in different households. Dried fish, ducks, seal, and walrus are advertised for sale during the summer on the local radio station. Notices are aired at regular times throughout the day, giving the item and the name or house number of the seller. For some families, sale of Native food is a basic source of income necessary for meeting household and living expenses. One family remained at camp throughout the summer, sending boxes of dried fish to relatives in town for them to sell. Another family advertised a seal for sale; this family has a very low level of cash income and used this opportunity to acquire money for other payments, even though they are often in need of food themselves.

The sale of Native food increased significantly in Barrow during and after World War II, when employment opportunities became more readily available (Sonnenfeld 1957). This practice enabled those working men to acquire Native food when their employment schedule did not permit them to hunt. Sonnenfeld reported that the level of consumption of Native food in the community did not decline as a result of employment, nor was the period of employment of long enough duration to affect the skill level of the working hunter. In modern Barrow sale of Native food still provides an opportunity for working families to acquire a variety of meats throughout the year, as Extended Family F illustrates. The practice is more widespread today, however, and has been a factor in intensifying the bartering element in the sharing system.

Older Iñupiat pointed out that the sharing practices in modern Barrow are the result of longer trends of change in the community. Our discussants' memories extended back to the period prior to World War II (1920s and 1930s), when widespread sharing throughout the community was recalled. This was a period of hardship, and family households shared with other families with more concern for helping each other than with the degree of genealogical relationship between them.

> The people that were settled in the area were very sharing and helping of each other because of the hardships, the severity of just surviving from a day-to-day basis. They were very close and assisted people that needed food or assisted people that may have had hard times and couldn't make it. So they helped one another in that respect.
>
> In times past, the custom for closely related families who were facing hardships, they would come together and help and share with the food or help and share with whatever type of crisis they might be going through. At that time they were very closely-knitted since sometimes one certain member of the family may have food and the whole family would come together and share that food. Maybe a brother would have his own family and all the families would come together and share that food.
>
> During those times, there was always a close relationship with everyone. There was not really any blood related barriers as to distant relatives or anything like that. During that time of the hardships they had very cherished bonds with each other because their survival depended on each other. So in terms of close relatives they did not have time to think about those things outside of the family, otherwise everyone that was able to help each other, helped each other.

> I want to stress that there was no such relationship that existed in terms of a member being distant. There was a closeness that always existed because we needed each other for our survival. Sometimes one family would be successful in hunting and others wouldn't. There are times when there were persons in the community that didn't have a desire to contribute. There was people who wouldn't share there food even though they went through hardships. They sort of stayed away from that relationship because it wasn't for the benefit of the clan or the group that worked together to survive.

This discussant resisted the line of questioning which suggested that genealogical distance was a factor beyond which sharing would be curtailed. His main point is that family groups were more likely to assist those in need during the period of hardship before World War II, in contrast with the modern period. He comments that brothers would frequently cooperate in this manner, a pattern which he observes is less evident in modern Barrow.

Spencer (1976:360-1) provided a similar description of the pre-war period as one of greater cooperation among families in the community:

> It was in this period, 1930-46, that one may note the carryover of the aboriginal patterns of cooperation and interpersonal dependence. More so than in a time of prosperity, the community sense of in-group consciousness appears to have developed. Those who did engage in hunting were obliged by custom to share their catch--seal, walrus, caribou, or any other game--with the less fortunate members of the community. But while this factor of sharing operated between nonkin, the economic circumstances of the period furthered the aboriginal family system as a cooperative institution. Families worked together and extended their joint efforts to the benefit of the community at large. The return to the aboriginal social patterns at a time of economic stress appears to have lent to the family system a force which it still possesses. As may be seen, however, the cooperative arrangement between nonkin in the community tends to breakdown with the addition of new wealth.

Spencer suggests that there may be a cycle of ebb and flow of cooperative family relationships related to the economic circumstances of the community. The period of economic hardship before the war followed an earlier boom of fur trapping, and before that, there was a downturn which had been preceded by the boom of commercial whaling. During periods of reduced economic circumstances, which is a reference to a decline in wage opportunities, the "cooperative family institution" comes to the fore and sustains the community through the time of hardship. The use of "hardship" here in reference to declining employment opportunities is an interesting change of a more traditional denotation of hardship, "starvation."

This cycle in family sharing patterns is openly discussed by some Barrowites, and to that extent it is part of the ideology of the family institution. For example, one discussant described a period during the 1960s in a similar manner:

> At the time when hardship really falls, that is the Iñupiat people come really close-knitted together. Especially families that have been disengaged for awhile. They find the link to come back together. I experienced that in the early sixties when there was no jobs available and a lot of people were going through hardship. About five or six families, relatives, would come together and eat as one family. And that is when the family unit seemed to strengthen. We seemed to come close together.

Unfortunately, this conceptualization does not examine the possibility of long-term (net) changes in sharing (and hunting) practices which are taking place throughout the cycles.

An older man who talked to us about changes in Barrow after World War II brought up changes in the Presbyterian Church and behavioral changes following new employment opportunities which suggest more significant, longer-term changes in sharing patterns. Prior to World War II, the Presbyterian Church developed as a significant religious and political/governance institution in Barrow. One of the activities of the deacons was to cooperate with hunters and help distribute food to those families in need in the village, which they received as donations from the church membership. Previously, there had been a "mutual responsibility" for the people to take care of each other, and the deacons cooperated in this practice. If the deacons slacked off in their responsibility, the other families would go ahead and do it.

After World War II, the sharing behavior of the community changed, and more responsibilities were assumed by the deacons to care for the needy. At the same time, new employment opportunities brought increased competition between individuals to acquire wage-paying positions, which was intensified by the immigration of residents from outlying villages. Then behavior of the deacons also changed.

> The change came as people started to work. They weren't looking after each other as much as they were prior to World War II.
>
> Now, people call the deacons instead of the deacons going out and looking as to who has a need. In the past, it was the deacons responsibility to go amongst the community and find out who was in need. But today, now it is the reverse. The person in need calls the deacon rather than the deacon carrying out his responsibilities to the community as a whole.
>
> The responsibilities of the deacons seemed to lessen. And then, because of that, the people quit looking to

> each other; quit having a cooperative desire to share. When the deacons became slack in their responsibilities, that is when the people started not really looking after each other.
>
> The church needed coal to keep it warm. People would get coal for themselves and get maybe a little share for the church. But it wasn't the way it used to be when they did it wholeheartedly.

A contraction of cooperative relationships to the more immediate family group occurred after World War II. New opportunities for wage employment that developed in Barrow during World War II are also identified with this change:

> When construction began on the NARL, there was a very definite change in the attitude of the people due to the introduction of employment to the community. You could really see a change in the cooperative sharing. [Illustrations?] Right after employment was introduced, everyone sort of abandoned the fur trading as a means of bartering for making ends meet. When everyone got jobs, things became easier. People began building wood frame homes, build some boats, outboard motors, etc. As things got a little easier, people started to stick to themselves around their immediate families since everyone was now in a position of self-reliance. So, at that time it became a little easier for everyone to look after themselves.

Events since 1970 have intensified these trends after discovery of oil at Prudhoe Bay and the subsequent political and economic development of Barrow and other communities in the North Slope. The effect on sharing practices was suggested above concerning the development of the senior citizens' lunch program.

Another major area of effects on sharing patterns is changes in hunting practices. The imposition of the IWC whaling quota in 1978, which has the support of the federal government, provides an example of changes in hunting which impact sharing patterns.

A whaling captain discussed the consequences of a limitation on the number of whales, which results in smaller shares.

> . . . the quota has really limited the amount of sharing. A lot of people in cities don't get it. You can't go beyond the first two pots. There are more requests to captains now, from cities, because of that quota. It's very hard to turn down people who are asking, conflict-wise. We used to have six to 10 pots of whale meat/maktak per share; now, it is hard to get beyond two pots (which is enough for one good dinner).
>
> I have more partners in Wainwright now; they make requests for help, and I got maktak on the side for helping them out. They can do this because they have bigger shares. They call me up for favors, like requests for snowmachine part, and in return send me a piece of maktak.

The majority of the households in our sample are headed by individuals aged about 35 and over, which is also characteristic of the households of hunting families. The intensity of hunting is decreasing in younger households. Hunters reported that younger men are not as skilled at hunting and surviving on the land. "Although there are some that are pretty exceptional in hunting because their parents taught them; but most that go out have a lot of problems with the land." This hunter estimated that "a good 60 percent at least" of young men between 18 and 25 would have a difficult time hunting or developing their skills adequately to stay out on the land.

This trend is increasing in significance as the community is forced to adjust to reduced employment levels due to the decline of CIP funding. A hunter, who is also a supervisor at work, made the following statement:

> Right now, I have a lot of people asking me questions about jobs. But I hardly have any openings at all.

> . . . . It's going to be hard for them, the young people today; they have it so easy. Their working parents provide everything for them. But after all this is gone, it's going to be pretty hard.

Several hunters reported that they offer to take inexperienced people out with them to show them about hunting and to "take them out on the land, point out landmarks, how to live off the land itself." In making these offers to younger people, hunters are reversing traditional roles in order to encourage and develop hunting skills in the younger age groups.[35] In addition, young men usually do not go out by themselves, a practice of self-instruction which is necessary in learning hunting skills. The growth of search and rescue organizations in the town has reduced some of the risk of getting lost or having mechanical breakdowns. With CB radios, hunters in trouble can seek assistance from other hunters nearby.

The growing fear of unemployment is intensifying the trend among the younger population. This summer there was an increased level of self-criticism among younger men who were used to the intermittent availability of high-paying CIP jobs. They expressed concern that they did not have the skills for the more stable, permanent service positions which remain. In the fall both the city council and the borough assembly passed measures to increase levels of local hire in their employment and contracting procedures. One observer noted that, among the younger age groups, this degree of policy concern over wage employment had the effect of intensifying fears over the decreasing availability of employment at the expense of developing an awareness of the benefits of hunting to the family.

Adoption

The patterns of adoptions which have been described previously by anthropologists (Spencer 1957; Heinrich 1963; Burch 1975) remain prevalent among contemporary Barrow Iñupiat. Our data suggest that the traditional forms of adoption are continuing even among the young adults and that the frequency continues to be quite high. Many adoptions are now formalized through the Western legal process, but this does not appear to inhibit or alter the traditional relationships between the adoptive and biological parents and the child. Adoptions are one of the mechanisms which connect separate households and which link older and younger extended family members. However, changes within the traditional social organization and the appearance of new institutions in Barrow also appear to be interrelated with changes in the traditional patterns of adoption.

Adoption is widespread among the Barrow Iñupiat. Families adopt children as well as adopt out their own biological children. Multiple adoptions are also common with some families adopting as many as six children. Of the sample of 21 households we investigated, all but four households had either adopted a child or adopted out one of their children. Of these four households in which adoption of any form (adoption in/adoption out) was absent, three were single head of households, two of which were divorced or widowed parents. The fourth household was a family which had 11 of their own children. From the 21 households, we collected data on 28 adoptions and noted numerous references to other adoptions associated with the members of the family.

Reasons for Adoption

Spencer and Burch both cite the extension of kinship and bonds of cooperation as the motivations for adoption. While these in fact may be a result of the adoption, the more specific and immediate reasons for adoption are childlessness, desire for a son, and illness or death of a biological parent. The value placed on grandchildren and the special relationship between grandparent/grandchild also leads to adoptions by grandparents. In two cases the husbands' extended period of activities on the land (hunting, travelling) activated the adoption process so the wife could accompany her husband. A more recent reason for adoption is the emergence of the young, single parent, who tend to be never-married females.

The greatest number of adoptions in the study (10) was initiated by couples who were childless or who desired a son. In most cases, the childless couple approached the natural parents and requested that they be allowed to adopt a child. In other instances the childless couple was offered a child. In the cases in which the sex of the child was not a factor in the adoption, the request was made before the birth of the child.

One individual reports that she was visited by two women at the same time, and both requested that they be able to adopt her baby (the women were sisters-in-law who adopted five children between them). Unable to decide between the two women, she told them, "If anyone wants a baby, the first one who comes to the hospital can have the baby." In this case, the wife did not confer with her husband prior to giving her consent. After she had given the baby to one of the women, she changed her mind and attempted to reclaim her baby. Her husband reminded her that she had been adopted by her grandmother and that "she had grown to love her adopted mom." After a period of time the woman abandoned her efforts to have her baby returned.

The value placed on the adoption of male infants is noted both in the adopting parents' specific request for boys and the denial or difficulty with which men give up their biological sons for adoption. In two of the cases which we investigated, individuals whose sons had died in infancy had made requests to adopt male infants. The requests for adoption were initiated by men, and they rather than their wives approached the natural parents. One individual reports that "his adopted father did not have a son, 'Their son's name was _______, he died before I was born, so they adopt me and name me after him....' ________ [the adoptive father] really wanted to adopt me because he didn't have a son, he didn't have a family . . . They don't have their own kids until they adopt three of us."

Other individuals agreed to allow their unborn child to be adopted out, provided that the infant was not a male. One individual noted that he had agreed to adopt several of his babies out before their births, but he could not bring himself to do so since the infants were all males. While sons seemed to be the preferred child, parents also desired to have females and sought out girls for adoption or initiated traditional customs to obtain a girl. For instance, the individual in the previous case who had made repeated promises to a couple that they could adopt his next child, repeatedly changed his mind after his wife had given birth to sons. However, after the birth of several sons, this individual agreed to let the persistent couple adopt the next son. He explained his rationale, "There's an old saying that when you have a string of boys you adopt out one and the next baby that you have would be a girl, and we lucked out and it was ______[female child] next."

Illness and/or the death of one of the natural parents were primary reasons in a significant number of the cases which activated the adoption process. Grandparents were more likely to be the adopting parents in these instances. In the case of illness, conflicts often arose after the return of the parent who had been hospitalized.[36] Many individuals were raised by their grandparents until the parent or parents returned. It was not uncommon for the biological parent to assume that their children would be returned. Often the adopting parents were reluctant to return the child or the child had grown to regard the adopting parents as their only parents. Individuals recounted the difficulties they had accepting their new homes and would often return to their grandparents house.

Grandparent/grandchild adoptions are quite common. These adoptions tend to adhere to traditional forms of adoption rather than being sanctioned by the formal, legal adoptions. More often grandparents will describe the adoption process as "raising" the child. In these cases the grandparent rears the grandchild because they want to care for the child and to establish a relationship with the grandchild (rather than for reasons of illness or death of the grandchild's parent). In many instances, the adopted child was the first grandchild.

Both older and younger women attribute the adoption of their children to their inability to accompany their husbands with their small children on long trips or hunting excursions. In some cases the adoption process is activated even though it was not the intent of the natural parents. One individual described how her daughter had been adopted out, " . . . wanted to accompany my husband . . . when he was leaving______[village] by dog team . . . left the baby with______." When the natural mother went back to get her baby, the child wanted to stay with the parent. Even when she was successful in getting her child back, the adopting mother would come and get the child on a pretense of needing her to do something. The adoption was finally accepted by the biological mother.

Single women with children is another reason which prompts adoptions. A number of these women had been involved with non-Iñupiat males who left Barrow. In the cases we investigated the parents of the single mother assumed the responsibility of raising their grandchild; however, an increasing number of infants of single mothers are being handled by governmental agencies. Whether this represents an increasing number of single women who are having children or an increasing number of grandparents or other relatives who are not adopting children has not been determined.

Kin-related Adoptions

Traditional forms of adoption among the Barrow Iñupiat occur among kin-related members. In no instance was adoption between non-kin found to have occurred in our investigation. Moreover, the adoption occurred between individuals who knew one another.

As indicated above, grandparent/grandchild adoptions, including adoption of great grandchildren, are quite frequent. Grandparents did not appear to make any distinction between their adopted and natural children. They readily adopted the offspring of their adopted children as well.

The second common form of adoption occurs between siblings. Children are adopted by their paternal or maternal aunts and uncles. Often the kin relationship exists between both members of the natural and adopting parents. Children are also adopted by cousins or more distantly related relatives, such as the adoption of a child who is the "adopted mother's cousin's son."

Patterns of Affiliations

The characteristic which distinguishes Iñupiat adoptions from Western adoptions is that the adopted child maintains its membership or relationship with both its biological and adoptive family. In only one case of the 28 adoptions investigated, a continuing relationship between the natural/adopted parents and child did not continue. Relationships between the natural and adoptive parents who are also kin related are further solidified through the adoption. Not only does an adopted child have two sets of families, the child can claim multiple lineal and bilateral relationships with the adopting family since adoptions occur between kin-related members. Those who were interviewed would frequently distinguish between "my adopted Mom" or "my real Mom." However, at other times these same individuals would variously refer to their adopted mother as "my akka".[37]

The confusion (for the interviewers) was further compounded by sequential adoptions in which individuals had two sets of adoptive parents and families in addition to their natural parents. Multiple family relationships also resulted in cases in which a couple adopted children from three different families.

The adopting parents could establish relations with the three natural parents, and each of the three adopted children could initiate a sustained affiliation with any of the three sets of natural parents and family of their adopted sister and brother.

It does not appear that adoptive parents make any attempt to hide the fact that a child is adopted. In some cases the child was unaware of their natural family until they were older. One individual describes her experience:

> I didn't know they were my brothers and sisters until I was 11 or 12 years old. And all this time I thought so many people liked me so much that they always cared for me and here they were my brothers and sisters. I never knew my dad. He died when I three months old, but I knew my mother. She was always with me, talking with me, walking everywhere with me and really showing me things and here she was my mother. But she never told me she [was my mother] or did my brothers and sister . . . I was still part of them even though I was adopted to my aunt.

Relationships between the adopted child and his natural parents and family are not always well established. Some adopted children expressed resentment about being adopted out. Often relationships may not be established until the adopted child is older. One individual described a situation in which the adopted individual "separated himself from the [natural] family in response to being adopted out. Now that has changed. He catches a seal and gives it to his mom; he catches another one and gives it to his other mom . . . now they are all very close."

In some cases relationships between adoptive parent/child are established even when the adoption was not actually consummated. In one case a young boy was to have been adopted by his uncle, but his wife died before he was adopted and he never remarried. The young man describes his special relationship to his uncle (which differs from that of any of his siblings' relationship to the same uncle):

> So I knew there was a special relationship. I was his favorite when I was growing up; he gave me a stereo and records...he gave me new camping gear, including a tent, sleeping bag. He always let me use his rifles, boat. I went hunting with him all summer.

Relationships between communities are also extended and enhanced through adoptions. One individual described a historical event in which the Colville River people and the Utqeagvingmiut (inhabitants of Barrow) were feuding until someone from the Colville River area adopted a baby from Utqiagvik and they "finally became friendly." In later years, the friction again developed, but the adopted son stopped the feud because he said, "I'm not about to fight my mother's people."

Contemporary adoptions occur between families in Barrow and other communities. Adoptions between Barrow and Kaktovik, Wainwright, Point Hope as well as the inland community of Anaktuvuk Pass were documented. These adoptions facilitated the patterns of affiliation described above, such as food exchange of resources which are not available locally. Individuals who travel between communities often stay with their adoptive or natural relatives rather than at hotels. A more recent benefit of the adoptive relationship between communities is the political alliances and joint business ventures which can be established. These relationships are particularly useful since the establishment of the centralized, region-wide organizations, such as the NSB and ASRC. This practice differs from former periods when Spencer (1957:144) found that adoptions did not occur between people he classified as Nunamiut and Tareumiut (inland and coastal people): " . . . adoptions took place both within and between villages, widening the kinship circle, but never, so far as is known, did adoption across the ecological line take place."

Perhaps the most evident change in the adoption process is associated with the introduction of governmental agencies and the adoption of children by non-Iñupiat. These agencies remove children from parents who have been found to be unfit. In some cases, parents offer their offspring to the governmental agencies rather than to their family. Although the state agency and federal legislation require that every attempt be made to adopt the child into a family with kin ties or within the Native community, this is not always the case. In these cases, adoption does not always insure that traditional relationships between adoptive and natural parents and family will continue.

Naming

The institution of naming among the Barrow Iñupiat is another mechanism which continues, in the present period, to extend kin relationships. Names carry a set of relationships within a family. Individuals who inherit names have the potential to activate the relationships associated with the name, and conversely family members may also establish relationships with the individual who acquires the name of their kin. Bonds can also be established between unrelated families in cases where both families have members with the same name. The naming complex can also serve to link individuals who have the same name but who may not be biologically related. These quasi-kinship relationships are not as intense or continuous as actual kinship relationships. They are, in practice, only periodically activated and only with a limited number of the possible relationships. Names can be utilized to strengthen a kin relationship, but they are not always sufficient in and of itself to sustain a relationship.

It is extremely rare that a child is not given an Iñupiaq name in addition to an English name. Within the family home, children tend to be called by their Iñupiat name rather than their English name. Men and women are likely to receive several Iñupiat names. Individuals tend to be named after a deceased person who was, in most cases, a grandparent. However it is also acceptable to receive the name of a living person.

Names may be given to babies by their parents, grandparents, other relatives or friends. Infants may also acquire the same name of an individual on whose birthday they were born. Names are generally selected before the birth of the child, but the name is often substituted if someone should die prior to the birth of the child. The infant may not necessarily be related to the person who died before its birth since kinship is not a requisite in giving a child a name. For instance, several children born after the death of Eben Hopson, the founding father of the NSB, were given his name immediately after his death.

Individuals may continue to receive names through their adult life. Some names carry greater prominence, such as names associated with good hunters or well-liked and respected individuals. The bestowal of names, according to one knowledgeable individual, should be witnessed by other persons other than the recipient of a name. When an Iñupiat has several names she can be called, "Akka" (grandmother) even though she may be quite young because of the multiple relationships she inherits with all the names. One woman described this phenomenon, "One of my granddaughters has my Eskimo name, she has a lot of Eskimo names, they call her 'Akka, Akka' all the time because she has so many Eskimo names it would fill up a page."

Names are not gender specific and may be simultaneously held by both males and females. There also appears to be a concerted effort to rotate the names between the sexes. One individual described this process:

> He was thinking of giving it [the old man's name] either to _______[the woman's husband] or me. He said since it was his aunt's name, he decided to give it back to the female line. Usually they travel that way, male-female-male-female.

She also went on to describe how the Iñupiat applied their system of naming to English names as well. She indicated that some Iñupiat men assumed the names of the wives of their non-Iñupiat friends and were called by such names as Patsy or

Shirley. However, the notion that Iñupiat names are either boy's or girl's names appear to be gaining acceptance among the younger Iñupiat. Some expressed a reluctance, and in some cases, a refusal to name their sons after a female relative. However, it was also noted that a number of children were no longer being given English names but only Iñupiat names.

Spencer (1957:287) assumed that it was impossible "to describe the complex of names and naming except in terms of the supernatural." He reported that "names tended to be inherited . . . The tangible links between the living and the dead lay with the name. To placate the dead, it became essential that the proper series of names be given to a child."

Through supernatural features associated with the naming complex were found during our investigation, more functional relationships parallel to kinship affiliations were discovered. One of the more formal relationship is designated as the uuma naming relationship. Three variations of this special relationship were found. In the first case an uuma relationship exists between an individual and any others who have the same name as that of his or her spouse. For example, a man named John could establish an uuma relationship with any other women named Dorcas, which in this hypothetical case, is the name of his wife.

An uuma relationship can also exist between individuals despite age differences. Children are most commonly given the name of one of their grandparents. They are able to activate the uuma relationship with the surviving grandparent. One individual described the interactions he witnessed between young boys and older women with whom they have an uuma relationship:

> . . . little kids call some old ladies 'Honey.' I've seen that, I've heard that. They give each other things, birthdays, anything [like] the spouse [would have]. . . you know, a special relationship there.

Another variation of the uuma relationship is between a person and his or her spouse's namesake irrespective of the sex of the namesake (since under the Iñupiat system both males and females may have the same name). This type of uuma relationship was reported during our investigation. A woman's husband named Avaiyak had died. Another woman in town also had the same name as the widow's husband. An uuma relationship was activated between these two women and when Avaiyak's husband "caught a whale, she [the widow] went and started working right away, to help get some food, as if it was her own [husband's] whale."

Individuals who have the same name are often related, but non-kin may share the same name as well. When asked to identify individuals with the same name, we found that people could cite the names of several others, including those who lived in other communities. Others report that they met Iñupiat in other communities who had the same name which allowed them to initiate immediate visiting relationships. Generally, individuals assume that a kin relationship exists with others who share the same name, but they are not always able to trace the kin relationship between them. Most all uniformly agreed that a special relationship exists when individuals share the same name. One person described this relationship:

> There is a special relationship between people who have the same name. They just treat them as if they are their own father or their own uncle or their cousin. They treat them with respect.

Naming relationships enhance or strengthen kin or adoptive relationships. Adopted children are often named after one of the natural parents, which serves to reinforce and sustain the relationship with members of the biological family. Names together with vague or distant relationships can be used to gain access to membership in whaling crews or even residence in a household. For instance, an individual from Point Hope was able to join a whaling crew because his wife was both a distant cousin and also had the same name as the wife of the whaling captain. In another case the naming relationship was the primary reason that a woman allowed a young man who had been in trouble to stay at her house even though he had closer relatives in Barrow. She explained, "We treat him as one of our own. We would have to. He is named after my brother who passed away . . . that's why we treat him kind of special, because he was named after him." In one instance a non-Iñupiat was able to gain a reserved acceptance in the community because he had the same last name as one of the more influential families. A relationship was thought to have existed between their ancestor who was a commercial whaler and the family of the non-Iñupiat immigrant.

Names are also enough to precipitate gift exchange. An individual received a sled from someone because he had that person's father's name. The wife related the gift-giving relationship: "That was just because of name . . . he just gave him the sled, we didn't have any sled. It was fantastic!"

Naming continues to be important to the Barrow Iñupiat, but the evidence suggests that it does not always mean that the Iñupiaq individual will establish relationships associated with the name. Older Iñupiat are more likely than younger adults to know the history of names they have and apply the kin relationships that are associated with names. Even if relationships are not activated, the Iñupiat appear to take pride in the names they have inherited and comfort in the range of potential relationships that exist with their names.

Endnotes

1. Our sampling procedure is described in Chapter 1. We developed a protocol for household interviewing; the instrument was designed to elicit the full range of relationships that radiate out from the household members. The protocol is presented in Appendix A.

2. Heinrich (1963:70-71) describes these features as "the wide range character" of Iñupiat kinship and the provision of "functional equivalents of biological descent" through co-residence, adoption, etc. However, he rejects the qualification of fictive, or "quasi," kinship (Spencer 1976) for these functionally equivalent "sociological" relationships; this will be discussed more fully below in reference to adoptions.

3. The process of using features of the system to solidify "new" and closer kin ties has been called the "allocation of individuals into statuses" (Heinrich 1963) and the "development" of social relations into patterns of affiliation (which is a reference to larger composite social organizations constructed out of the Iñupiat kinship relationships) (Burch 1975).

4. Dormancy is a crucial option in the system:

> The connections of Iñupiat kinship are permanent, but they are not necessarily permanently operative. They may lie dormant. Where relatives are separated by distance, the dormancy is, of course, a function of cultural interpretation of the effects of geography. But the same thing may (in the sense of being perfectly permissable [sic.]) happen where relatives are in the same community. In cases where two people who have kinship connections have no mutual need to interact as kinsmen, they need not do so, and very often they do not do so. At any later date, through, the dormant connection may be re-activated (Heinrich 1975:74).

5. The system is more prescriptive in childhood, when a young Iñupiaq is socialized into a system of relationships with different relatives. But at this age the system is maintained in part through parental suasion, and as a child enters into adulthood he becomes freer to deactivate relationships in the ascribed circle of kin (the natqun) and activate other "new" ones, frequently outside his parents' close network and often outside the village itself (Heinrich 1963). The decrease in the number of activated slots which were significant during childhood is compensated by the new relationships, which often serve to expand his kin network geographically.

6. Put another way, the extensive Iñupiat kin networks are flexible and, hence, are not the equivalent of descent groups. This point has been made by Heinrich (1963:69): "The individual is not embedded within a permanent lineal structure, and certainly the kindred do not exist as enduring cohesive units that the individual can rely on."

7. Kinship is significant at the community level as it relates to the interaction among members of extended family networks in many settings. Also, the integration of households into family networks is a major dynamic process contributing to social integration in the community.

8. the circle of ascribed kin (sic.)

9. A slight extension "up two generations and then down again along collateral lines as far as there is personnel, gives the illagiit," a wide-ranging sibling-like group "toward all of whom the concept of sibling solidarity is felt to apply" (ibid.). Combined with another regular pattern of giving consanguineal-like statuses to some of spouse's relations, the range of potential sibling-like relationships becomes quite large. This sibling-like group is significant because from it work groups are formed, as if an extension of the nuclear family. Patterns of sibling and generational solidarity are also important factors in the system. These considerations support Heinrich's (1963:108) statement that "the Iñupiat system accents the lateral aspect over the lineal," when it comes into play.

10. Heinrich (1963) makes the point that the Iñupiat kinship system was fitted to ecological conditions in which the availability of individuals (for slots within the structure) fluctuated, particularly on the North Slope where the system tended to be "personnel poor." On the other hand, when an individual encountered other Iñupiat, and kin relationships with a member of the group could not be established, he could expect to be taken as a slave or beaten to death. In this sense, traditional Iñupiat society was truly a kin-based structure. Survival, both economic and political, was in most cases insured by having kinsmen.

11. In the past the number of surviving children produced by a conjugal pair was often not more than two (Heinrich 1963:70; Foote (in Burch 1975:129); and Burch 1975:129). Larger groups were necessary for productive hunting activities (and for protection); kinship provided the structure of interaction for these larger social organizations (see Heinrich 1963 for a discussion of structural elaboration in Iñupiat kinship and the functional requirements of hunting in the Arctic).

12. A valuable description of changing allegiances over time is provided in Bogojavlensky's monograph (1969) on the institution of umialik, which describes the struggles for power and prestige

in kin-based skin boat factions in a Bering Strait village.

13. At the very end of his discussion, however, he makes the point that Barrow was different from the other towns (Nome and Kotzebue) throughout this period, and that "Barrow in the 1960s may well have been the location of the most highly integrated community organization that operated in any Northwest Alaskan settlement during the entire time period covered by this study."

14. The structural form of the modern extended family unit has direct continuity with traditional Inupiaq social organization, however. This group is similar in structure to the natqun circle (see above), but it is less extensive structurally since, in the modern form, it does not usually extend laterally beyond the root nuclear family. Simpler extended family units carry out most of the functions for which, in the past, a larger number of more distant, sibling-like relatives were necessary.

15. Until the early 1980s, couples were severely limited by the availability of housing. This constraint remains in force in 1985, though to a lesser degree. The waiting list maintained by the NSB Department of Housing contains more than 300 names.

16. There is substantial variation from this norm, as will be evident in the examples which follow. The variation in household composition was remarked upon by Spencer (1976) from fieldwork conducted in Barrow in 1952-53. He reported the presence of smaller residential units he referred to as the "nuclear family," which functioned as a component of the extended family. One source of variation is the presence of single adults, who frequently remain living with their parents, but are also observed to establish separate households.

17. In the records of whaling captains in Barrow, which are kept by the AEWC, this captaincy is listed as belonging to the younger man's wife's grandfather. The family name is the name of this grandfather, the father of the (now deceased) husband in the root pair of this family group. By keeping the captaincy associated with the family name, he links it directly with the memory of his father (the grandfather of this sibling group).

18. These numbers include the oldest (adopted out) brother and his son.

19. Ugruk skins are part of the boat's share and are given to the owner of the boat. In this case, in which two brothers bought the boat cooperatively, the skins will be stored for use in recovering the family umiaq next spring. The skins will be stored in the captain's ice cellar.

20. Spring geese hunting inland has become more salient in recent years because the IWC whaling quota has substantially shortened the spring ice hunting season.

21. The meat from these animals is made ready for distribution and storage; other products, such as skins and ivory, are set aside; and specialty items, including uraq (fermented walrus), ugruk intestine, etc., are prepared. Walrus stomachs are examined to see if undigested clams are available.

22. PHS pensions provide the bulk of the present income for each household.

23. As already described, the widow's married sister has a camp situated close to this one. Sometimes, especially in the fall, the sister's husband will join in the caribou hunting with this family group.

24. Three are married to whites and two are married to other Natives who tend to be more involved in subsistence activities in their home communities.

25. This summer his father went out often in search for ugruk since he needs new skins for his umiaq.

26. These regular patterns support the general conclusions of the kinship literature (Heinrich 1963; Burch 1975) that hunting relationships, or the production and distribution of Native food, is the primary engine of the extension and solidification of flexible kinship relationships in traditional Inupiaq social organization. By "regularity" we mean that the relationship recurs over time at some frequency, although the interval or frequency of interaction itself may vary in different relationships (i.e., the period between interactions is not the same for each regular relationship).

27. Our estimate was made as follows: common use of an inland camp is a characteristic of these family groups, which is an element of active hunting orientation. Knowing the number of camps, we can compute an estimated number of Iñupiat households which participate in active hunting family networks. Figure 10 gives the location of 77 camps presently used by Barrow residents during different seasons of the year. Since several families have more than one camp, a more accurate number of families with camps is 67. Using an average figure of 3.5 households per family (the extended families in our sample have an average size of three or four households), a total of 235 Iñupiat households are active participants in hunting family groups. Two hundred thirty-five of a total of 416 Inupiaq households is 56 percent.
This method does not include those households that do not utilize fixed camping sites. A proportion of Barrow households hunt directly out of Barrow, or go to temporary camping sites

with no fixed facilities. Our estimate, then, is lower than the true number of Barrow households that are actively involved in subsistence pursuits.

28. Walrus, ugruk and spotted seal hunting requires a minimum of two and often three hunters and at least one boat. One man is necessary to serve as the shooter while the other drives the boat. For inexperienced hunters it is preferable to "go boating" with one or two other boats to reduce the likelihood of getting lost.

29. The more experienced hunters will go out on the land by themselves. Several men indicated that to learn to be a successful hunter, one has to go out by himself. Most inexperienced hunters are reluctant to do this, however, out of fear of becoming stranded or lost. Some may venture a short distance from Barrow, but it is unusual for them to be more than a few hours' ride away or to camp overnight.

30. Marriage can be an opportunity for a man with few or no brothers, providing a means to be included in a hunting network.

31. This behavior indicates the extent to which personal attitudes and preferences is accommodated in the hunting and sharing practices, which is consistent with the permissive and optional characteristics of Iñupiat kinship described earlier in this chapter.

32. Some women suffer from an infection known locally as "seal finger" when they cut up seals, which reduces the pool of available butchers for these animals.

33. In the Iñupiat behavioral environment, the successful hunter is motivated to give meat away after his family needs have been met. Their hunting and distribution system is predicated on the expectation that there will be more animals available and accessible to the hunters in the future, to meet future needs.

34. See Spencer (1976:167-77) for a reconstruction of earlier types of partnerships.

35. Traditionally, a young man would take the initiative and ask an older, more experienced and knowledgeable man if they could go hunting together. It was up to the younger man to take the first steps in such relationships.

36. Tuberculosis was quite prevalent among Alaska Natives during the 1940s through 1960s.

37. The current usage of 'akka' refers to grandmother, but formerly the term meant 'mother'.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

EXTENDED FAMILIES AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL SERVICES

We have already described many of the institutionalized patterns of mutual aid and assistance which characterize social relationships within and between households. As we pointed out, in traditional Iñupiat society kinship provided the structure for these relationships, which gave the individual a network he could draw upon for economic and social support. Extended family kinship networks also afforded protection from assault by others, which discouraged expressions of open conflict in the society. Physical attacks were avoided when relatives appealed to the parties to avoid bloodshed (see Spencer 1976 for examples).[1] Burch (1966:51-2) provided a striking example of the restraints imposed on a violently drunk individual by members of a family group intent on protecting him and the community as a whole:

> One young man had gotten completely out of hand and, had he been left to his own devices, would probably have killed someone, or else burnt down a house or two. But he was not left to his own devices because his relatives had taken charge. When I entered the house, two of his brothers were literally sitting on him, and a third was standing by to help if necessary. Every fifteen minutes or so, a sister or one of the young man's parents would drop in to see if they could help. The village councilmen were nowhere to be seen, and it turned out that neither they nor the teacher had even been informed of the matter. I learned later that similar scenes had taken place in one or two other houses during this affair, and that one old woman had even threatened to send her own son to jail if he did not settle down. It may have been 1961, but I had just seen the traditional Eskimo kinship system in action, both as an agent of protection for its own and as an agent of responsibility for the actions of its own to the community at large.

This event illustrates the social obligations which closely related kin are expected to fulfill, both toward family members and the larger community. In caring for its own, the Iñupiat family serves the interests of the community.

The recent development of numerous social service programs and institutions serving the family in Barrow suggested to us that families are no longer as responsible for their members as they once were. The array of social services available in Barrow is much more extensive than is the norm in communities of similar size in Alaska and elsewhere throughout the United States. The number of service facilities in 1985 (see Appendix D) is indicative of the density of community social service institutions in Barrow. Initially, we hypothesized that these institutions have assumed many of the functions formerly carried out by extended families. However, as we saw that many families continue to take care of their own, while others seem to have more than their share of troubles, we realized the situation is more complex.

In this chapter we discuss the growth of social service programs and institutions in the community and the uses which families have of them. These programs operate in the midst of traditional patterns of helping and assistance within the family, and the most successful programs are those which have penetrated the family networks. We describe the institutions in the community that families have started to use more extensively, which include child and adult protective services. Next, we discuss major programs which started on the initiative of people in the community--a shelter for abused women and community recreation programs. Finally, we summarize the development of the NSB Department of Health and Social Services (DHSS), which has instituted the majority of programs in the town.

The patterns of helping and assisting family members in special situations are extensions of the normal, everyday family relationships we have described above. Family members will turn to others to request assistance in times of misfortune or crisis. Families may provide assistance with caring for children of other households on a temporary basis. One household reported that a child from another home will come stay with them "when they are having family problems," a reference to drinking and possibly violence in the home. Similarly, elderly adults will sometimes ask to stay over at a relative's house to avoid complications arising from heavy drinking in their own homes. Often, as in these examples, assistance will be requested on the initiative of the person in need of relief.

In our interviews, we talked with couples who had raised "a lot" of children in addition to their own. Usually the children were from broken homes; sometimes one of the parents were institutionalized in the south somewhere. The other parent may no longer be living, or be staying separated from the family. In one household, a married couple raised four children "when their mother died and their father didn't want them." In the families we interviewed, the children had been adopted informally, in the traditional manner. Caring for others is not only offered in response to misfortune or crisis. Burch (1966:64) reported that during a time when families still spent the winter months away from the community, children lived with relatives or non-relatives of their choice in the village so they could attend school. This frequently resulted in adoptive situations.

Through these traditional practices, Iñupiat individuals help family members in times of stress by alleviating conditions which may lead to neglect or even abuse of persons in the family network. Our information suggests that some family households in Barrow have provided assistance regularly through the years, and that within some extended families there is a household that is regarded as a helping family that others may turn to in times of crisis. However, it is also the case that many families in the town have a member who will regularly, or intermittently, be in need of assistance. One health worker stated that every extended family has one or two members who have serious drinking problems that put a burden on the family. The implication is that, in periods of extraordinary crisis, families will have difficulties that exceed their abilities to manage.

On the other hand, families do not always look after their own. For example, one woman related a story about her neighbors who locked the door of their house when they began to drink. Their small children were outside at the time, and when it began to rain they tried to enter the house through the locked door. The neighbors never came to the door, and finally the woman went out and brought the children into her own house to get warm and cared for them until their parents had finished their binge several days later. These children are now adults and have their own children.

Children's proceedings--child neglect and abuse--were completely under the authority of the local magistrate until 1983, when a district court was established in Barrow. In an interview conducted in 1977 by one of the investigators, the magistrate reported an increase in children's proceedings caused by alcohol. Other interviewees from that time period noted an increase in alcohol use in Barrow and Wainwright, which they attributed to increased access to alcohol. The children's home in Barrow was closed at this time, and children taken into custody by the state were sent to a juvenile home (Dot Lake) near Fairbanks. Parents responded to the increased activity of the court. The magistrate said that there were "no problems yet with adults holding grudges against me. With the children's cases it's different--the parents are angry with me." In the following year (1978) the NSB health department opened the Children's Receiving Home, and the State opened an office of family services (child protection and custody). During the same period, the Barrow Mothers Club started supporting a network of volunteers who offered temporary safe and secure shelter to abused women and their children.

The Children's Receiving Home provides a safe residential environment for children removed by the magistrate or district judge from the custody of their parents due to neglect or abuse.

In its first full year of operation (FY80), the staff recorded a total of 2,005 child-care days. Data from subsequent years show there was a minor increase in services: 2,309 child-care days in FY82, 2,332 child-care days in FY83, and 2,462 child-care days in FY84. Figures J-M in Appendix C shows the numbers of children in the home from July, 1982, through February, 1986.

Analysis of this aggregate data is only available for FY80, but it is revealing of a pattern that likely applies in the subsequent years. The same children were served two or three times during the year, which reduced the number of different children served to less than half of the reported total children served.[2] This finding suggests that some families more regularly receive the services of the Children's Receiving Home than others, and that the total number of families using the home is not as large as first indicated.

Social workers who worked in Barrow from 1980-85 confirmed that the family groups involved in these social services are typically helped three or four times per year, and some are involved continuously. They acknowledged that some families have drinking problems, but that other family members would care for their children in the traditional pattern described above. What has changed is the incidence of children and families who have become regular clients of the Division of Family and Youth Services (DFYS). They note that these persons are from a small number of extended families which no longer assume the care of neglected and abused children. There are about eight extended families in this category that account for most of the clients in Barrow.

The vast majority of children's cases involve child neglect when the parents go on a long drinking binge. Recently, cases of physical and sexual abuse have been reported. Social workers said this started to increase in 1982 or 1983. There was rarely a case of physical abuse reported in 1980, only "the odd one or two." There were no cases of sexual abuse of children prior to fall of 1982. But the incidence of sexual abuse started to change about the same time as physical abuses increased. There has been a steady rise in both types of abuse since then, which is attributed to an increase in reporting levels rather than in frequency of acts. In 1985, DFYS estimated about 75 percent of their cases involved neglected children and 25 percent involved child abuse. In the 1970s, nurses and social workers were aware that child abuse occurred, but the victims did not talk about it. Once a few of the older children started talking, more cases were reported. One professional was very clear to distinguish between abused children among Iñupiat families and white families, "Among the Iñupiat, it doesn't come close to [the severity (injury, mutilation)] you see in white cases."

One long-time resident of Barrow classified the Iñupiat drinking population into these groups: social drinkers, binge drinkers, and those who stay drunk all the time. Social drinkers are from the elite families in Barrow; they drink among themselves, have other family members to care for their children temporarily, if necessary, and generally take care of their own problems. The families with repeated or continuous problems are drawn from the other two groups. Binge drinkers may need someone to care for their children for three or four or five days. Sometimes this is accomplished within the family; in other cases it cannot be and the children end up in the Children's Receiving Home. Some households go on longer binges, lasting three to four weeks. Children of these families may also end up in the receiving home, when they are not taken in by other family members. These children show signs of juvenile delinquency, do poorly in school, and tend to begin drinking themselves.

Since the Children's Receiving Home opened in Barrow (1978), families have started to use it voluntarily as an alternative to the extended family. Parents will drop-off their kids prior to a weekend binge, with the words, "I don't think I can take care of so-and-so this weekend." Sometimes people have inquired about voluntary relinquishment of custody. There has never been a voluntary approach to social service agencies in the North Slope; this pattern of activity is in sharp contrast with the other programs.

When children are not returned to their homes, DFYS is assigned custody by the court and "places" the children into foster homes, the Children's Receiving Home, or juvenile institutions in Fairbanks or Anchorage. In most cases, these children are removed from their extended families. Figures N-P in Appendix C display the increase in number of children in placement since 1983. Eighty to ninety percent of these children are Barrowites, according to DFYS estimates.

DFYS also places children into informal relative custody in which relatives assume care of a child without any legal involvement. However, the number of informal custodies has declined, which has contributed to the recent increase in placements outside the extended family. People are reportedly getting tired of taking children whose parents can no longer care for them but who harass family members who take the children. Often there is conflict in the family, with the result that family members do not want to take their relatives' kids because they would have to deal with these relatives who drink and come to the house (while drunk and abusive) to retrieve their children. This situation has recently brought about an increased use of DFYS custody and placement services and resulted in the increased placement of Barrow children in other communities and outside the region.

The following description of current practices is taken from our field notes:

> DFYS takes formal custody of a child when the family in which it is placed wants/needs some protection from the family of procreation. If the state has custody, then the family can assert itself when family members come and harass them or interfere with the child, by calling the police or a social worker for help. The state, by having legal custody, can enforce its rights and prevent access by family members. This is not the case if the child is adopted informally, since the relatives have no legal right to keep the parents away. Only if they have taken the original parents to court, and had the court remove the child from their custody, can they acquire this right. Needless to say, this does not happen. The way it works is that the state takes custody, and places the child in another home. Apparently, when DFYS learns of a case, and the family

> has been abusing the child, often a family member (such as a grandmother) will encourage the social worker to take the child away from the family and place it in another family. The child is protected in this case, but the cost is the removal of the child from the extended family. Often the child is placed in a completely separate family, which may be in another community. Occasionally, the child is placed in another family member's home, when that family member lives in another community, and the family member insists on the state maintaining custody to ensure some protection from the other family members, as described above.

Social workers report it is difficult to find foster homes in Barrow because people are concerned about possible harassment from the natal family. Also, the formalities involved (certification of homes, inspections, restrictions on children's activities) contrast sharply with traditional Iñupiat child-rearing practices. One solution is to place Iñupiat children into non-Iñupiat homes, which avoids the situation described above because the foster parents, operating in a different social circle, do not encounter the child's parents.[3] Another solution, as mentioned above, is to place the child in another village on the North Slope, or outside the region.

More recently, the DFYS has seen a high level of voluntary requests for adult protective services. Like children, elderly people are subject to abuse from family members who have been drinking heavily. This change is attributed to the activity of the borough aides, local residents employed by the borough to work with and assist the DFYS social worker staff. The aides were active in making observations throughout the community and would contact people or have people drop by their house with abuse problems. Our discussant was quite clear that the recent rise in adult protective services resulted from the personal relationships and ties of these individuals to the aides themselves, not to the institution (DFYS). The aides were the key to penetrating the informal family helping network, which under normal circumstances would not have come to the attention of DFYS. Families are expected to take care of their own.

Among the families with chronic and high levels of alcohol consumption, more than one household in the extended family will have alcohol-related problems (intoxication, neglected children, physical violence between household members). Traditional methods of social control have limited utility in situations in which relatives in different households are drinking at the same time. The following account is taken from our field notes about a ride in a taxi:

> Although I was going directly to Browerville, the taxi received another call. We went and waited outside of a house to pick up a woman by the name of ________. While we were waiting the driver said he hoped she wasn't drunk again. The woman came out of the house on steady legs and got into the car and then asked if we'd mind going to pick up her mother at somebody else's house. The driver said yes, he would do that. We went to another house. While we were on our way, the woman opened a bag of Native food and said "I hope this doesn't smell bad, I don't like Native food very much, but my mother likes it. This is for her." The woman may not have been drunk, but she had a hard time pronouncing her words, though she was very friendly. We got to the other house and picked up her mother. She explained to me that she was doing that because her brother was drinking. She said her mother didn't like being at home when he was drinking a lot. She then turned to the cab driver and asked him if he had problems with her brother when he was drinking or whether he behaved himself in public. The driver said no, that he hadn't had any problems with him. The next stop on

> our ride before going to Browerville was at the mother's house because she wanted to have her coffee and few other things with her.

Another example is drawn from an interview conducted in 1977:

> John told me that he had spent last Saturday in jail. He said that when both he and his father are drinking, they fight. His father had him put in jail and then moved to Pigniq (the duck hunting camp outside of Barrow). John said his father would stay there until he (John) left for Anchorage. John had complained earlier to someone who related to me that John's father had been drinking heavily. During the same meeting, he also expressed admiration for his friend's parents who lived mostly by hunting. I understand John lives alone with his father and apparently would like to move out. I understand that a number of households of this same family have been drinking heavily since at least before the 4th of July. We had one of the young girls of the family spend the night at our house because of the drinking in two of the same family households. John has a drinking problem which both he and his friend have discussed, however, he generally makes it to work. If he doesn't show up his friend will call or go and get him. John also related to me that he and his girlfriend were talking about moving out of town to one of the new villages, I assumed from the conversation to get away from the drinking.

In these families, the burden placed on the more stable family members is high. They are often called upon to take care of situations and will receive telephone calls at all hours of the day and night. Sometimes, in order to preserve their own equilibrium, these individuals will try to separate themselves and break away from the family. "To survive, they can't have anything to do with their family." One observer described a married pair, with a couple of kids, who are "pulling away" from the family--"divorce themselves from the family"--to try to survive.

Social workers, using their knowledge of client files, report that problems of heavy alcohol use and violence toward family members are transmitted to subsequent generations and serve to spread such problem behavior patterns more widely within extended family networks over time. In one village there were four or five households with significant problems; these households were traced back two generations to a grandparent and the effect he had on his children and their kids. Problems in a household in another village were similarly traced back, in this case to a great-grandparent in the family, who also turned out to be the generator of the grandparent in the first example.

The occurrence of disruptions in family relationships, and the persistence of such disruptions in subsequent generations, is observed by other Iñupiat families who will withdraw from the troubled families. Such families may later pull themselves out of this situation and reestablish connections with other families. There are Iñupiat legends which describe instances of families that emerge out of troubled behavior patterns. The following notes summarize a discussion of these issues with a long-time Barrow resident:

> When a family experiences misfortune, it usually starts with an individual, but soon the other family members are drawn into it. It persists for a long time--40 or more years, maybe three generations--before they may pull out of it. These families are known, and other families pull back, withdraw, until there is some demonstration of productivity and self-sufficiency, which brings new respect to the somewhat isolated family.
>
> It might be death of a mother or father, severe alcohol problems, abuse of children or elders, sexual abuse, murder; these are referred to as misfortunes. There may be several such events in a period in a family's history, the effect of which is to draw family members into a pattern of angry, violent, disruptive relation-

ships. As it develops in an individual, other family members are drawn into it, "because they are so closely related and intertwined." The pattern becomes a family pattern, and other families keep their distance. The family becomes isolated from the more successful families. The behavior pattern of the isolated family usually persists for 2-3 generations and maybe longer; it is viewed as difficult to pull out of.

An individual from such a family is not expected to change his behavior, and if he is trying, he may actually have to bear the negative expectations of others for quite a long time. For example, if such an individual obtained a job, he would not be expected to keep it for very long, and would have to work there much longer (say 10 years) before others would feel he is dependable and regular. He has to overcome his family background, in a sense.

An individual from such a family does not have any linkage to a stable and productive person from whom he could learn work habits, subsistence knowledge and habits, self-sufficiency, etc., because one of the results of the family behavior pattern is to destroy such patterns. Thus it is difficult for one to pull himself out of it. In one example, a youth of about 19 years attached himself to an uncle, was always asking to go out hunting with him and to learn from him. This youth made a conscious decision to turn towards this man and a subsistence lifestyle, to develop positive attitudes, habits, and some degree of productivity, and has achieved some success.

The linkage to behavior models and teachers in the family is important, especially when interfamily dynamics can affect the potential for establishing such links outside the close family.

The individual must strive to develop new relationships, in order to pull himself out of the troubled situation. As extended families decrease in scope and relatives withdraw or pull away from relationships, the availability of persons with which one can develop active relationships is reduced, making it more difficult for a person to achieve prosperity. It may be said of such an individual that "he was iliappak", one who (previously) had few material possessions, but who has acquired a lot of things now. However, the term has the primary meaning of "orphan," specifically one who lacks relatives (as contrasted with material possessions). Even materially successful persons who have lost their parents and grandparents may call themselves "iliappak." For a person who was iliappak, but is no longer, the acknowledgement of improved economic status, as well as activated relationships, is made.

Some social service programs were developed directly by community members in response to changing conditions in the town. These programs focused on areas that the existing formal institutions did not address or for which services were inadequate. The programs were developed by residents after they perceived a need for them within the community. There is a high degree of local participation in these programs. We will discuss AWIC and the city recreation program.

AWIC was started by the Barrow Mothers Club in 1976-77 to provide a safe and secure refuge for women and children who were abused, assaulted, and beaten by other family members. The Mothers Club is a local voluntary organization that provides assistance to families in times of misfortune, such as after the death of a family member, when a fire has destroyed the home, or an individual is in need of medical services off the Slope and family members cannot afford transportation costs. Financed largely through proceeds from bingo, the club makes donations to a wide range of local organizations and institutions which provide services and assistance to the community, as well as direct contributions to families.[4] When the levels of domestic violence in Barrow rose beyond the capacity of informal networks of volunteers and family groups to handle, the organization decided to sponsor a referral network offering shelter for abused women and their children during periods of crisis. The network of volunteers extended into nearby villages.

Women in need received assistance when they sought help or relief from members of their extended family, who then referred them to AWIC volunteers who were able to put them up in their homes. To maintain the security of the volunteers and the safety of the women receiving help the network membership was kept secret. In the early days of AWIC, often the women seeking help were unaware of the existence of the network until someone referred them. In smaller villages, women were given the plane fare to safe homes in Barrow. A woman described the first time she received help from AWIC:

> Then I went over to my cousin's place. I didn't know one thing about a shelter at all. That's how confidential it was. Nobody knew about it. And she said, you want to go to the shelter? She was a volunteer advocate. I packed all my stuff in plastic bags and went home [in Barrow].

AWIC followed informal lines of communication among family members and supplemented the level of assistance available in the extended family. Families did not always offer the help that was needed; instead they often encouraged the woman to return home. One person described the reactions of her mother when she went to her home for relief from her husband:

> I guess most of the families like my family saw only the good side of [husband]. They didn't know the other half of him. They kept harassing me about why don't you just go back. Why don't you just go live with him for a couple of days or a week and see how he really is? That's when I started listening to what they wanted, what they expected me to do. It was pretty hard. Especially when it had been so long. And here all this time I'd been sticking with him because of my family. And because the kids had to have both parents. All those excuses. And then I just didn't want my kids to go hungry. I could take the abuse, I could take everything, but I couldn't see my kids hungry. No way! Not while I'm capable of working.

Being told the proper place of a woman is with her husband made it difficult for battered women to seek help. The husband's relatives will not be of assistance to the woman since usually they support their kinsman. However, an abused woman would not always receive help from her own extended family, even if the kinship ties were primary. Another woman gave the following account:

> I remember he got his legs on my shoulders and he pounded on my face. And I came running to mom and (high voice) "You got your own place! You got your own boat! You got your own husband! Go home." So I did.

Although the Presbyterian Church would now suggest divorce in abusive relationships, this was not the case in earlier periods. This other attitude is reflected in the position of parents of abused women, "What our parents believed was that we have to stick together no matter what. God is against divorces."

AWIC has helped women to defend themselves against these traditional role expectations. For example, "If it wasn't for the shelter, I would have still lived in that abusive relationship. It would have gotten worse. It does get worse." One person made the following comments about her personal feelings after learning to verbalize her response to child sexual abuse:

> We have films in prevention. How to say "no" and its beautiful. It's time it happened. We didn't even know what the heck was going on then. But now we could understand that it was very bad and nowadays kids could be educated. Before we were quiet. At that time we didn't know what to do. There was a lot of fear.

During the initial development of AWIC, the Mothers Club sent a member to Anchorage to attend a conference on domestic violence. She made contact with a representative for a shelter for abused women located in Fairbanks and established linkages with that center if North Slope women needed further assistance (more secure shelter, legal assistance, etc.). AWIC was funded by a small state grant and donations from the Mothers Club. As word of AWIC spread and the number of women being assisted increased, it became apparent that the need exceeded the capacity of the volunteers. In 1978 representatives of the Mothers Club attended a meeting of the NSB Assembly and requested the borough to provide a house which could be used as a shelter. A building for AWIC was not in the budget, nor was one in the CIP plan. According to one observer, they stated emphatically, "We need it," and the assembly voted to approve their request. Later, the mayor was reported to say, "You can't say 'No' to the Mothers."

In order to ensure continued funding, the Mothers Club convinced the borough to assume management responsibility. AWIC continued to operate informally under the Mothers Club until the end of that fiscal year (June 1979), when the borough health department took over. AWIC became a program under the health department with a non-Iñupiaq coordinator.

> The program was started to help women who have been battered, abused, or raped. A coordinator will work in our office to assist, support, and counsel women in need. We will start a volunteer program to provide a 24 hour phone service to women in need (North Slope Borough Health Department Newsletter, 1979).

In addition to providing a safe and secure place to stay, AWIC offers advice and assistance to women for examinations at the hospital, interrogations by police, court appearances, discussions with legal services, counselling, and education. The Mothers Club continues to make monthly donations for food and other necessities.

Initially, the length of time a person could stay in the shelter was limited to three days. The maximum stay was lengthened to 30 days in 1980, which increased substantially the frequency of reported use of the shelter after that year. We suggest that the available service data (provided in Figures Q and R in Appendix C) reflects the reporting of the same women more than once during the year, similar to the pattern discussed above for the Children's Receiving Home. That is to say, the number of different persons served is smaller than is reported.[5] The most intensive activity occurs on weekends--for example, on one bad weekend in September of 1981, 23 clients came into the shelter over a five-day period and the incidents were all alcohol-related. A rise in the number of battered women and of sexual assaults (rapes) was reported in 1981, which paralleled rises in state and national statistics. The increase was attributed to a combination of increased reporting and a higher incidence (NSB DHSS Narrative Summary Report FY 1980-81).

Recreation is another service area that community residents have substantially developed for themselves. Even in 1985 Barrowites commented on the lack of things to do, particularly for youth, recalling movie houses and other establishments in the village that provided recreation while they were growing up. However, there are many more programs and facilities for recreation in Barrow now than there were five years ago. At that time, many of the public agencies (Public Safety, the courts, the hospital, NSB Health Department, etc.) were focusing concern on the incidence of alcohol abuse and sponsored a wide variety of public education programs and town meetings to encourage action on the part of the Iñupiat residents. In one such meeting, which dealt with the issue of importation and the prosecution of bootleggers (who authorities said were nearly all Iñupiat), a group of elders recommended that more recreational facilities were needed to reduce the incidence of alcohol abuse (Klausner and Foulks 1982:139). When an Iñupiaq was hired as city manager in 1981, she made the development of recreation activities her priority.

Taking advantage of the state's oil wealth, the city used new municipal funding programs to construct playgrounds, a playing field, a teen center, and a community recreation center over the next four years. A separate recreation department was created in the city administration to oversee the softball, basketball, and volleyball leagues and to coordinate with the school district for the use of their indoor facilities. Other individuals and groups, such as the chamber of commerce, also were active in promoting recreational opportunities in Barrow as a means of improving community life and "to have some fun." The school has long been the center for community gatherings and events, including sports activities, and the construction of the new high school in Barrow complemented the facilities developed by the city. The new building included a large gym with extensive spectator areas, a swimming pool, indoor track, several locker rooms, and smaller work-out rooms used for classes in aerobics, Tae Kwon Do, and dance.

The community baseball, basketball, and volleyball leagues provide regular sports activities during summer and winter months. Nightly games are played during the regular season, which is followed by a special tournament in which all teams are qualified to compete. Winners of the tournament travel to Fairbanks to play in statewide competition. In the 1984-85 basketball season, there were six men's and four women's teams; the 1985 baseball season included nine men's and seven women's teams. The games provide fun for players and spectators; often family and friends of team players will attend the events.

Many of the teams have continuity from year to year. Our Iñupiaq research assistant reported "These games are essential for everyone and benefit the working class to get away from work to play. It is strongly accepted and will be on-going for a long time." The team sponsors are usually local employers, but memberships are commonly drawn from a wide network of relatives, friends and associates of a few fellow employees (see Appendix E for lists of teams and their sponsors). As noted by our research assistant, many of the players are locally employed in regular jobs.

The community leagues contribute significantly to the sense of community one can feel in Barrow. The teams are markedly multi-ethnic in composition, providing the context for congenial association between Iñupiat and the newer, non-Iñupiat residents (primarily white). The camaraderie and fellowship between Iñupiat and non-Iñupiat which we observed during these games, and in many other contexts in the town, is a reversal of the inter-ethnic antagonism and strains which was characteristic of Iñupiat-white relations in Barrow several years ago (Worl 1980; Worl, Worl, and Lonner 1982). Softball, and to a lesser extent, basketball, provide an opportunity for non-Iñupiat to participate in the community. Many white residents now consider Barrow to be their home, more than just a place to have a good-paying job. A proportion of the recent migrants remain in Barrow for its small town, face-to-face lifestyle; they do not have the high-paying jobs normally associated with this population. These individuals report that the sports leagues provide them with the opportunity to participate in the life of the town and to get to know some of the Iñupiat. They state that playing sports contributes more directly than any other activity to being recognized as a friend by Iñupiat.

The summer baseball schedule is very active. Each of the teams played 15 games in the regular season (the women played 10 games), which averages two games per week. Two or three games are scheduled each weekday night, and make-up games are played on Saturday evenings. During our work in Barrow, we stayed a few blocks from one of the playing fields, and it was not unusual, on these few occasions we tried to go to bed early (11 P.M.), to hear the honking horns (or even a siren blast) of the spectators responding to a big play. On the day following the games, a sports broadcast over KBRW informs the townspeople how the teams played and who made the biggest hits.

With the exception of the community celebrations for Nulakataq, July 4th, Thanksgiving, and Christmas, the largest regular gathering of townspeople occurs during the high school home basketball games. In addition to the students, cheerleaders, and the school band, many community residents come to watch the games. Nor is the audience confined to the younger population; a group of elders sitting together can usually be observed. Many of those attending are regulars who come to every home game. Those who cannot attend may watch the games live on local TV and turn on the radio to hear the play-by-play description. There are many opportunities in Barrow to participate in recreational sports activities, either as participants or spectators. These activities are integrating the mixed Barrow populations and also are socializing Iñupiat into the recreational habits of Western school-going and working people. We observed a rising number of Iñupiat joggers using the indoor track, particularly in the after-work hours, which started with the opening of the new high school. The recent construction of a new adult community recreational facility, with racquetball courts, saunas, and a whirlpool, is also indicative of this trend.

The City of Barrow also constructed a new teen center, designed to provide a recreational facility for Barrow youth. It is open from 1 to 11 PM for young people (18 years and under). There is a pool table, foosball, and various table games such as backgammon, cards, and chess. Card playing is a popular activity. The most intensive activity takes place on Friday and Saturday nights, when dances are held for elementary and high school students. The younger group has a dance from 7:30 to 9:30 PM, and the older group is there from 9:30 to 11:30 PM. We observed high attendance at one dance during the summer; there were approximately 75 to 100 young people crowded inside (and about 25 to 30 three-wheelers packed in the yard). The popularity of this activity has probably increased with the opening of a dance hall for adults across the street. Both facilities are run as alcohol-free centers, and the dance hall reinforces this element of the teen center dances. In earlier years, drinking at the youth dances was not unusual, and occasionally a dance was shut down because of heavy alcohol consumption (NSB DHSS Newsletter, October 1981). The staff of the teen center reported there has been a change in the clientele of the center; the teens who now use the center are drug-free, and the teens who use alcohol and drugs no longer come around.

The rapid development of numerous social service institutions and programs is one arena that illustrates the intensity of the recent institutional growth in Barrow. Many new programs were developed between 1978 and 1982 by the expanding staff of the NSB DHSS. In most cases the programs were developed by non-Iñupiat to meet perceived needs in the community. Though the overall goal of the health department has been to provide the best services available, the programs were shaped largely by the professional orientation of the staff. The remainder of this chapter describes the growth and development of the health department in Barrow.

The health department has been the largest borough department since 1980, and now has an annual budget of about $9 million (see Table 21). In 1985 non-Iñupiat staff outnumber Iñupiat 64 to 57. Iñupiat are concentrated in the maintenance and paraprofessional levels, whereas non-Iñupiat are primarily in professional and administrative slots. As described above, most programs have been developed and administered by non-Iñupiat, and their turnover rate is high. Recruitment for these positions has always been a problem, and most often individuals are hired with no previous experience on the North Slope. They arrive in Barrow highly motivated and with good intentions, but within a year or

TABLE 21

Growth of North Slope Borough Department of Health and Social Services

	1980	1983	1985
Number of Employees	72	114	121
Annual Budget	$1,950,227	$5,861,230	$8,706,400

Note: Employment figures are for one pay period in July of each year. Budget figures are for fiscal years beginning in July of each year.

Source: NSB Department of Health and Social Services.

two grow discouraged by the lack of progress they and their programs have made in the community. This is particularly the case with the counselling programs.

When the first director of the new NSB Health Department (as it was then called) was hired in 1976, the department consisted of a social worker and a newly acquired alcohol program grant. An Iñupiat Health Board, comprised of representatives of the North Slope villages, was formed to serve in an advisory capacity to the new department. The regional tribal organization, ICAS, passed a resolution transferring to the department authority to contract for health services under P.L. 93-638. The borough secured the contract and began to manage the village clinics and the Community Health Aide (CHA) program, which previously had been functioning under the supervision of the public health nurses in Barrow. Two doctors, who worked for a year at the Barrow hospital and travelled to the villages to train CHAs, wrote in a 1977 report to the borough health department "We are of the conclusion that no Alaska health program since the TB program has done more to affect the health care of Alaska Natives than the Community Health Aide Program" (Phillips: 1980). There was one CHA, and an alternate, in each village.

A new director was hired in 1977, and the DHSS expanded rapidly under her. She instituted a new policy of program development and applied for state and federal funding for several different programs. This practice differed from the former director's policy, which was to contract only for those programs which the health board had decided to pursue and which local people were able to administer. This change resulted in the recruitment of an increasing number of non-Iñupiat staff, which eventually altered the character of the department. It also was partly responsible for a developing animosity between the director and the health board. The health board was ultimately dissolved.

By the following year a staff of non-Iñupiat professionals was hired as directors and coordinators for a variety of programs. A non-Iñupiaq CHA Coordinator was employed to oversee the hiring and training of the village CHAs and assist with the opening of new village clinics. An Emergency Medical Services (EMT) Coordinator came on board to provide EMT and water safety classes for borough residents and to manage a travelling veterinary clinic providing dog and cat vaccinations. A dental clinic and optical shop were opened. As it expanded the department moved out of the borough offices into its own administrative headquarters, the Matsutani Building. This structure was renovated, and it was furnished with a large room which became the Senior Citizens Center. The department acquired a van and initiated a hot lunch program, bringing seniors to the center for lunch five days a week. A senior worker was hired to carry out home visits in an outreach program.

The department also funded a public assistance worker to help borough residents fill out applications for food stamps and Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Applications must be sent to Fairbanks for processing and acceptance, a time-consuming process that was improved by the assistance of borough workers. After several years of this program, the borough was able to convince the Division of Family and Youth Services (DFYS) to assume funding responsibility for two positions, but requests for a branch office in Barrow continue to be denied. Current levels of assistance are described in chapter five above.

Alcohol abuse was a focal point of activity for the department in 1978. The director planned to sponsor a film on alcohol abuse "that will make people start thinking about problems being caused by alcohol abuse," and by the following year she hoped to have in place "a network of health professionals that will be able to offer help to both the problem drinker and his family"

(North Slope Borough Health Program Newsletter: 1978). A mental health project was initiated with the 1976 alcohol program grant monies. A clinical psychologist was hired to provide education, counselling, and therapy to individuals and groups in the community on a voluntary, as-needed basis, but most of his clients were referrals from the police, magistrate, hospital, church, and the state social worker.

The community mental health program was the first counselling program in Barrow. Psychological services included, in addition to counselling and psychotherapy, medical and legal psychological evaluations, 24-hour crisis intervention, and consultation to other health service providers. Until recently, the caseload was derived primarily from referrals; there were very few voluntary clients from the community. Fiscal year 1982 (July 1, 1981, to June 30, 1982) was the first year for which client data are available; an average case load of 35 per month was reported. In the following year the annual average number of open cases was 61, and 454 therapy and evaluation sessions were reported. In 1984 the center reported 82 clients, saw an average of 97 people per month, and provided therapy and evaluations for 849 people.[6]

Recently there has been a marked increase in the number of non-Iñupiat treated in the program. In prior years Iñupiat were the principal focus of the program, but in 1984 one-third of the clients were non-Iñupiat. The ethnic composition of the client list is 69 percent Native and 31 percent non-Native. The increase in level of services to non-Iñupiat accounts for a significant proportion of the reported rise in number of cases. The non-Iñupiat component arose through an increase in self-referrals by non-Natives, since the other caseload source for the Mental Health Center is referrals by social service agencies serving Iñupiat almost exclusively (AWIC, Children's Receiving Home, Indian Health Service (IHS) hospital, and DFYS).

During the same year that the Mental Health Center was started (1978), the health department assumed responsibility for managing the Children's Receiving Home, an emergency shelter for neglected and abused children. The home was managed by a director and a staff of eight, and it was licensed by the State before the end of the year. The Children's Receiving Home was an outgrowth of a Child Advocacy Program that was initiated by the non-Iñupiat pastor of the Presbyterian Church and the IHS. The department operated the home in collaboration with a social services program provided by the state Division of Social Services (DSS), which opened a district office in Barrow that year. Children in need of temporary or longer-term care were placed in the home under state custody by court order of the local magistrate while their living situation was evaluated and a plan for family treatment or new placement could be developed by DSS staff.

The state-run social services program includes adult and child protection, foster care, family counselling, and homemaker services. Because state funding levels led to inadequate funding, the health department and the DSS agreed to work a joint program starting in 1979. The state funded three professional positions, the borough funded two paraprofessionals, and a career ladder was started for the two borough workers which could lead to their certification as full social workers by the state. The borough aides were crucial as brokers between the state social workers and Iñupiat households in the town, since Iñupiat in need did not readily turn to the non-Iñupiat program for assistance.

In December, 1980, the DSS was combined with the juvenile probation section of the Division of Corrections, and a new division (DFYS) was formed. The Barrow office was the first office in the state to handle both programs within one supervisory structure, and a probation officer was scheduled to be added to the office. This reorganization assigned to DFYS responsibility for all children placed in custody of the state by the courts, giving them much more control over the placement and care of the children than DSS previously had. In prior years, North Slope children were usually placed outside the region. At this time there were seven youths placed in institutions in Fairbanks and Anchorage (Dot Lake Children's Home, McLaughlin Youth Center, Jesse Lee Home). One of the goals for DFYS in 1981 was "to work towards placing all children from the North Slope on the North Slope" (Narrative Summary 1980-81 Social Services). For several years the number of children placed off the Slope decreased, but recent placements approach the earlier level.

By 1980 the health department was the largest division of the Borough, with the exception of the CIP work force. A health educator and media coordinator were added in that year. The department acquired the maintenance contract for the PHS facility, and construction was under way for a new clinic building adjoining the hospital. The Mental Health Program had expanded to seven positions. A Women-Infant-Children program, providing dietary supplements to mothers with young children, was added. There was a Parent/Infant program that screened babies for learning disabilities and provided a special education program in the homes. Like the mental health center, this was a program always in search of clients and which expanded into the villages when the necessary quota was not filled in Barrow.

The department continued to expand in the early 1980s as the staff applied for more state and federal grants and added more social service programs. A corrections counselor hired in 1979 was successful with a proposal to the State for a Youth Counseling Center. This new youth program brought counselling, youth advocacy, and alternative education programs for youth referred to the agency by the school, courts, and police. A youth counsellor was hired, and in 1981 the Youth Drop-In Center opened. Besides providing a base for youth workers and volunteers, the center was planned as an alternative overnight, sleep-off place for intoxicated youths (in place of the jail). Plans for the youth de-tox center were dropped when state licensing standards were found to require a qualified medical staff, and the facility continued to operate as drop-in center for youths in the afternoon and evening hours during the week.

A "jail diversion" program was planned at the center to provide a 24-hour alternative receiving and intake process to the jail for youth arrested in Barrow, and the city made a grant to support it. The program was delayed and later transformed into a referral system through the juvenile intake officer at the court. The youth program also developed arctic survival trips, an adventure-based education program which gave troubled youths the opportunity to go out on the land with adult experts and learn winter survival skills. This activity received financial support from the City of Barrow and the Barrow Mothers Club.

The other major activity initiated by the department in 1981 was the Barrow Alcohol Program (BAP), which focused on community education, counselling, and the development of support groups for treatment and prevention of alcohol abuse.[7] Friendship House was opened under this program. Although it was a nonresidential facility, Friendship House offered an alcohol-free environment on a drop-in basis that was open to adults and teens into the early morning hours. As with many of the other health department programs, the staff was headed by non-Iñupiat professionals. A director and residential alcohol counsellor ran the program with three other staff. In the first year of the program, ambitious plans were developed for spouse and teen support groups, community-aired educational programs, and a residential alcohol treatment center. But after a mixed response to the program by the community, most of these objectives were not met.

The BAP program continues to operate in 1985 under a new title, Substance Abuse Treatment Service (SATS). SATS provides outpatient counselling for substance abuse (primarily alcohol, but also cocaine and marijuana) at the Friendship House. Clients are referred to SATS for counselling treatment by the courts, probation officers, IHS, AWIC, and DFYS. Friendship House is also operated as a drop-in, no-drugs recreational facility in 1985, open until 3 AM Tuesday through Saturday. The Drop-In Center is part of the prevention and education component of the program.

Ninety percent of SATS clients are Iñupiat. In 1985 the first Filipino was treated in the program; the remaining non-Natives are white. It is rare to have somebody come in voluntarily for help. Referrals from the court and probation officers go through the Alcohol Safety Action Program, a screening process for developing individualized programs and monitoring the progress of participants. Clients admitted under this program can be returned to the jurisdiction of public safety (jail) if they do not comply. People arrested for driving while intoxicated are in this category. A new group counselling program is beginning for juveniles arrested for minors consuming alcohol (MCA), which they are expected to attend prior to going to court for their offense. SATS runs regular counselling sessions, both individual and group, and occasionally works with families. MCA's receive group counselling three hours a week over an eight-week period.

The need for alcohol and drug treatment programs was also perceived by the pastor of the Presbyterian Church. A local chapter of Alcoholics Anonymous was started, which continues to hold weekly meetings at the church. In 1982 and 1983, the pastor sought to develop another counselling and treatment center for youth and adults at the church. He used church funds for this and applied to national granting organizations for additional funding. Plans were made for construction of the center on church property. The congregation, however, was divided over this activity. Some members thought it inappropriate for the church to sponsor such specialized social services, and others believed that the pastor had exceeded his authority in committing the church to such a program. The pastor continued to assert his views in this and other areas, and in 1985 the local membership voted to have him replaced amid questions about misuse of church funds. This action produced a split in the congregation, and throughout the summer appeals were made to heal the wounds and come together again as a unified group during sermons preached by visiting ministers.

Voluntary participation in counselling programs by Iñupiat people has been low since the beginning of such programs in Barrow. The first clinical psychologist hired in 1978 resorted to home visits in attempt to educate Barrowites directly about the services he offered. To encourage self-referrals he expanded this outreach program into the villages, embarking on a campaign to visit each home in every village on the Slope. In 1985 self-referrals by local Iñupiat continue to be rare. The experience of one counsellor is summarized in our field notes:

> He seems to feel isolated from the Iñupiat community and knows little about Iñupiat families (other than those he meets through his work). He feels that people are suspicious of him because he is a psychologist. As a counsellor he found that he had to be confrontational with his clients which he would not have done in the south. By this he meant that he would call people and ask them to make appointments for counseling, ask why they had not shown up for an appointment or even go out and walk the streets to check on how people were doing. He found going out to walk around the best way to follow-up on people who were categorized as psychotic.

When questioned if they have ever sought out counselling services for a situation in their life, the usual response of an Iñupiaq is "That is for crazy people." The association of therapy with mental dysfunction is understandable, since the Mental Health Center was created by the health department to meet a need for psychological services, including providing treatment for mental disorders and making assessments of mental competency for different agencies. Counselling through the Mental Health Center usually means that at least one institutional authority in the community has questioned the mental equilibrium of the individual. We spoke to two Iñupiat who had sought counselling voluntarily. One told us she found it helpful, once she realized it wasn't for crazy people. Both individuals attended school off the Slope, and are more acculturated into the non-Native culture. Results for them have been mixed, however; both individuals continue to have problems in their social life.

Psychological treatment is predicated on the assumption that an individual is willing to admit he has a problem. However, admitting to another that one may have a personal deficiency or weakness is dangerous to an Iñupiaq. One Iñupiaq individual offered the commentary that Iñupiat are hunters, and they learn much from the animals they pursue. One of the things they have learned is that when an animal shows its weakness, it gives other animals, including hunters, the opportunity to kill it. The implication is that people will take advantage of another's weakness, and Iñupiat are brought up to conceal their weaknesses.

Our discussion at the time was of a recent training session sponsored by SATS. The program was an intensive, three-day retreat at NARL led by Elizabeth Kubler-Ross. Members of the SATS staff are enthusiastic followers of her treatment approach, which involves the eliciting of grief and the display of anger by thrashing stacks of pillows with rubber hoses. This method is considered very appropriate for the counselling program in Barrow because clients are believed to suffer from unexpressed grief which has put their lives out of balance. Employing it in therapy sessions at Friendship House, the staff encouraged the displacement of anger, which they believe would otherwise be directed at other people. The new director of the health department expressed misgivings over the training program before it took place, but said afterwards that he had received positive reports from two of the Iñupiat who attended. The village corporation offered scholarships to any shareholder who wished to attend to help villagers with the $265 fee for the session.

Recently another technique employed at SATS brought objections from the borough administration and the two largest churches in town (the Presbyterian Church and the Assembly of God). The method is the "talking circle," a variant of a Plains Indian purification rite that has gained widespread popularity among social service providers. The technique was introduced in Barrow by a western Cree who learned it from a Blackfoot Indian. SATS has set aside a room that is bare except for a rug on the floor. During the session, clients stand around in a "unity circle" and talk about their experiences in front of the group. Ancestor spirits are invoked to give them strength and assistance in this process, and a braid of sweet grass is made to smoke to cleanse the participants. An eagle feather, a symbol of the mind, is passed to persons ready to talk, and there is shaking of hands (which evolved into hugging). This technique brought consternation to church members in the community, and the borough stepped in and prohibited the practice. The director of the program later reinstated the "talking circle" with his staff, which is 75 percent non-Iñupiat and includes two Cree.

Endnotes

1. Spencer carried out ethnographic fieldwork in Barrow in 1952-53 and reported that although there were many changes in Iñupiat culture by this time, the system of mutual aid, social control, and reciprocal obligation inherent in the family remains paramount. "Social controls today still rest in the family" (Spencer 1976:62). He goes so far as to assert that the strength of the family as an institution accounts for the lack of development of Western-style political institutions in the community. If he were alive to observe Barrow in the present, he might be surprised at the multitude of institutions which flourishes in Barrow 30 years later. The purpose of his work, which was different from ours, may be a partial explanation of his findings: he was seeking to reconstruct aboriginal Inupiaq social organization.

2. The analyzed statistics for the Children's Receiving Home (FY80) are the following:

> 2,005 child care days;
> 127 children served during the year;
> 53 different children served during the year, for an average of 2.39 visits per child (29 boys and 24 girls); 15.9 days = length of average stay;
> 5.48 children = average number of children per day;
> 6.42 years old - average age of children served.

Source: NSB DHSS Narrative Report, FY 79-80.

3. Seven white households contain Iñupiat children in Barrow today, according to the 1985 NSB survey of Barrow.

4. For a description of the formation of the Mothers Club and its revival in the recent period, see Smythe and Worl 1985:279-85.

5. The available data were reported as follows:

Jan-Dec., 1980:	146 women	84 children
	264 service days	193 service days
	1.8 days average stay	2.3 days average stay
Jan-Sept, 1981:	296 women	102 children
	669 service days	638 days
	2.3 days average stay	6.3 days average stay

Source: NSB DHSS Newsletter, October, 1981.

6. The client number reported here is apparently for the calendar year 1984, since the program description notes it "was equivalent to an increase of 183% over 1983." The increase correlates with

the addition of the second clinical staff member in 1983, the effects of which showed up in 1984 statistics.

7. The Barrow Alcohol Program started up in mid-1981, but its first full year of operation was FY 1982 (July 1, 1981 to June 30, 1982). A caseload of 194 first admissions and 55 readmissions was reported. In the following year, the caseload decreased to 129 new admissions and 15 readmissions.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Barrow is the largest Iñupiat community on the North Slope, and has been subject to very rapid and intense changes in its physical and socioeconomic setting since the development of nearby Prudhoe Bay and associated petroleum development areas in the early 1970s. The industrial facilities provide a substantial tax base for the NSB, a newly formed regional government centered in Barrow. The borough has sponsored unprecedented development in modern programs, services, and infrastructure in North Slope communities between 1975 and 1985. It also provided support for the re-settlement and construction of three villages that had been abandoned in the decade after World War II.[1]

The goal of the NSB CIP was to modernize Barrow and the villages, and enormous levels of funding were acquired through property taxes on oil and gas development in the region and the sale of municipal bonds on the New York market. The borough's CIP was also designed to provide increased employment and income levels for its Iñupiat residents, producing the recent economic boom in Barrow and the physical transformation of the community.

During the same period the social organization of the community became increasingly diversified with the proliferation of formal institutions and a large increase in the number of different ethnic groups. A complex regional government was developed in a short time, and many boards, commissions, and advisory committees are necessary for it to function. Increasing interaction with state and national institutions, which were often uninformed or opposed to local interests, stimulated the formation of organizations to pursue Iñupiat goals within larger state, national, and international arenas. Additional organizations were developed outside of local government to pursue community goals or meet special social service needs arising from the rapid changes. Finally, Native (ANCSA) corporations and local entrepreneurs formed a variety of subsidiaries and small businesses to capitalize on the new opportunities.

The Iñupiat demonstrated a remarkable ability to incorporate the innumerable new organizations into their society and to utilize formal institutions to promote their political, social, and economic welfare. These institutions also became the vehicle to integrate the Barrow Iñupiat into the larger political and economic systems within Alaska and the United States. The institutions provided the Iñupiat with a means for increasing the scope of social relationships within Barrow and outside of the community.

The most prominent changes in Barrow, constructed throughout the last decade, are the new housing (including multifamily dwellings for the first time), numerous administrative buildings, public facilities, and vigorously maintained gravel roads. The NSB also implemented a bus transit system, which together with an increased number of vehicles (trucks, taxis, three-wheelers, and snowmachines), allow continued interaction among family members and friends who have become more dispersed throughout the enlarging town.

New borough housing projects made modern housing available to many residents, but they did not promote private home ownership. Instead the borough became the largest landlord. The majority of the 319 housing units constructed in Barrow under the CIP are allocated to NSB employees, and the remainder is divided between low-income rentals and a home ownership program. The primary beneficiaries of the housing programs have been the immigrant non-Iñupiat. In the private sector, individuals and businesses took advantage of the housing shortage to build rental units. The result has been a substantially increased proportion of rental homes in the community.[2]

The population of Barrow increased throughout the last decade because of continual immigration of non-Iñupiat. Prior to the NSB CIP boom (1970), the Iñupiat population of Barrow represented 91 percent of the total. By 1985, the proportion of Iñupiat population dropped to 61 percent. Non-Natives outnumber Natives between the ages of 30 and 50, which is due to the larger number of non-Native males in this group. Another trend is the increasing number of non-Native families who have established permanent residence in Barrow. This represents a reversal from the early boom population which tended to be single males rather than females and families.[3]

Another significant feature of the Barrow population is the increase in ethnic diversification. Although the non-Native population is primarily white, the remainder is markedly multiracial. Whites are the largest non-Native group and comprise 28 percent of the total. Since the early 1980s, other ethnic populations have migrated to Barrow; the most prominent are Filipinos who comprise 5 percent of the population.[4] Other non-transient population groups include blacks, Yugoslavians, Mexicans, and Koreans.

There has been a significant decline in the proportion of Iñupiat households over the last decade, due to the large influx of non-Natives and the increase in racially mixed households. Between 1978 and 1985, the percentage of Iñupiat households declined from 63 to 45. The increase in mixed households (comprised of Iñupiat and non-Iñupiat residents) over the same period was 63 percent, which is three percent higher than the rate of increase in non-Native households.[5] The large increase in mixed households since 1978, which tend to be headed by non-Natives, shows that an increasing number of Iñupiat women are choosing non-Natives as spouses.

The movement of households in and out of Barrow has been very frequent. Non-Native households migrated to Barrow at twice the rate of Native households. However, Native families are emigrating out of Barrow at nearly an equal rate as non-Natives. Out of 535 households that left Barrow between 1978 and 1985, nearly half were Native families. The migration of Iñupiat has continued after the period of rapid out migration into the developing villages in the region; the flow appears to be an intensification of a traditional pattern of population movement.

By the late 1970s, the borough was the largest employer on the North Slope, and it has maintained that position down to the present. In 1984 the NSB generated an estimated 71 percent of all employment on the North Slope, through direct employment or its expenditures; and CIP direct and contract employment accounted for 34 percent of the total. Borough jobs accounted for over half of the employment in Barrow in 1980 and 1985. The Barrow Iñupiat were not employed by the oil industry in any significant numbers, and by the summer of 1985 the decline in local employment based on CIP expenditures was evident.

The development era also provided the first opportunity for Iñupiat women to enter the wage economy in large numbers. More than half of female Iñupiat employment in the region is with the borough. The jobs held by women are primarily in the lower-paying, but permanent, administrative and operations occupations. They represent twice as many jobs as the temporary, higher-paying CIP construction jobs in which Iñupiat men were concentrated. Almost all Iñupiat employees of the NSB School District are women.

Non-Native employment (59 percent) is presently higher than the rate of Iñupiat employment (41 percent). Higher levels of unemployment, particularly in the Iñupiat population, were already evident by the summer of 1985. The unemployment rate was 38 percent, of which 80 percent is Native. Also, competition for jobs was becoming more intense; for example, the City of Barrow advertised an opening for a carpenter and had 40 local applicants within a short time.

Since the summer of 1985 the borough has initiated a number of moves to stimulate the private sector in the desire to replace the 450 to 900 CIP jobs that are expected to be lost within the next four years. It is apparent, however, that the private sector is not large or stable enough to absorb such a downturn. The emergence of a private sector economy was stimulated by NSB expenditures. The number of local businesses increased during the boom, but this was short-lived as NSB spending peaked in 1984. The frequency of business licenses issued in Barrow dropped from 229 in 1984 to 134 in 1985. Private business development is itself dependent on borough expenditures and the income to the community derived from those sources. The local private sector businesses, which grew as a result of local government spending, are declining as the level of spending decreases.

Significant income differentiation is evident among Barrow households, which is a direct result of the recent employment boom. The benefits of higher incomes accrue to those households with regular employment. Our results suggest that as the high-paying CIP jobs disappear, a bimodal distribution of household income will become more evident. Those with permanent positions in the new institutions will maintain medium to high income levels, whereas other households with fewer employed members will have incomes at the lower levels.

Approximately 20 percent of the Native households have no employment. Our findings suggest that a significant proportion of these are families with elderly persons as household heads. We recorded a household pattern in which older family members on fixed incomes support younger, unemployed family members. Because the heads of these households own their homes, they are able to support additional family members on a lower household income.

Differential changes between Iñupiat men and women were also evident during this period. In previous (historical) development periods, employment opportunities were primarily limited to men. Change among Iñupiat women has been more pronounced during this period than in any previous time. The borough provided an opportunity for women to enter the wage market in large numbers; more Iñupiat women are employed there than Iñupiat men. The women have moved into the work force and decreased their traditional production activities (primarily in the area of the manufacture of clothing, but also in the butchering of subsistence resources). Women are also responsible for the butchering and preparation of Native foods, and some are able to do so without conflicts with their jobs.

The proportion of female Iñupiat heads of households increased over the past seven years from one-quarter to one-third of all Native households. This change indicates that more

Iñupiat women are raising families without husbands, which makes the new wage-earning role of Iñupiat women more important.

The new institutions in Barrow also became the base for Iñupiat women to achieve political leadership, a role which had traditionally been held by men. Iñupiat women have dominated the Iñupiat Health Board and supported the development of alcohol treatment programs. In the past two years, an increasing number of younger women (most of whom are college educated) were elected to the NSB Assembly, NSB School Board, the village corporation board and the City of Barrow council; however, women have not been elected to the ASRC Board of Directors.

Though Iñupiat women experienced positive change in the new economic and political institutions, they encountered adverse change in the social sphere. Family violence, most often directed towards women and children, emerged as a leading social problem during the last decade. Excessive alcohol or drug consumption has been reported in nearly every violent incident. In response to these problems, Iñupiat women, primarily through a local voluntary organization, the Mothers Club, promoted the development of AWIC to provide shelter to women and children. There has been an increase in the use of newer formal institutions for child protection, such as temporary placements of neglected children in the Children's Receiving Home and longer-term placements in family homes.

The basic forms of social organization in Barrow are the modern, formal institutions and traditional extended family networks. Modern Barrow is distinguished by the multiple configurations of both of these organizational forms. Participation in the former is usually through employment or as a member of a board, council, commission, or team player.[6] Frequently an individual is a member of more than one organization in either or both of these capacities. Another mode of participation in formal institutions is as a recipient of social services or a trade.[7] Membership in extended family networks is a factor of birth and subsequent relationships developed or activated during the life of the individual. This traditional form of social organization involves daily acts of communication, visiting, eating together, doing chores for someone, etc., within a network of interrelated households, and it is crucial for provisioning households with Native food.

The integration of the newer, non-Native residents of Barrow is primarily limited to participation in formal institutions as employees, team players on recreational sports teams, and users of the new sports and exercise facilities. However, a small proportion has intermarried with Iñupiat in the community, which has brought them into direct relationships with Iñupiat families. A few longer-term (non-Iñupiat) residents are also serving on boards and commissions, or have become active (i.e., hunting) members of Iñupiat family groups; some do both.

Barrow is unique in the high level of community integration which has been maintained throughout this century, and it continues to be characteristic in the modern setting. The integration is effected through extended family relationships and, in the recent period, through the Iñupiat's use of new formal institutions in the development and improvement of the community. Although our analysis has focused on the domestic functions of extended families, we also made the point that there is a very high level of interchange and exchange of information throughout the community through extended family relationships. These social patterns keep community members informed of the activities and interests of the leaders and institutions. For larger alliances and political actions in the community, extended families serve as important reservoirs of support, but the primary arena of political activity today occurs within formal institutions.[8]

Extended family groups are comprised of households whose members are closely related by kinship and kinship-like, special relationships that are functionally equivalent to kinship ties. Members of extended families regularly carry out domestic functions within the group of interrelated households. The domestic functions include sharing meals, exchanging information, nurturing children, sharing meat and fish, lending hunting equipment, cooperating in hunting and fishing activities and in butchering and food preparation, making clothing, giving small loans for household expenses, and assisting with household chores.

The more regular and intensive relationships take place within the close extended family group, as our examples illustrate. Within such groups, the interactions are more frequent, and more often include reciprocal behavior.[9] However, any one of these activities may occur between individuals related more distantly by kinship, and such interactions may be a regular, though intermittent, behavior. Some of these activities, particularly those related to subsistence harvesting and sharing, may occur between friends, neighbors, and other individuals not related by kinship.[10]

As the economy enters a downturn, the effects of the recent boom on household interrelationships may become more severe. The primary benefits of these developments (employment and housing) are not evenly distributed in the community, although higher costs of new services, housing rents, and food are faced by everyone. Substantial benefactors of the boom are the mixed and non-Native households, which increased at much higher rates than Iñupiat households. Further, within the Iñupiat population, there is significant differentiation among family households with regard to income, employment, the production of Native food, and ability to meet the cost of living in Barrow today.

Socioeconomic differentiation is not new in Iñupiat society. Economic (and ethnic) differences were salient in Barrow during the whaling period, and were intensified by the introduction of reindeer. These patterns have fluctuated during different economic cycles (trapping, navy and ARCON employment, and the recent boom) and the periods of downturn in between. In comparison, Vanstone (1962:147-50) describes the differentiated "range of living standards" among households in Point Hope in the mid-1950s, which is probably similar to patterns in Barrow in the same period.[11] The difference would be that, in Barrow, employment opportunities were more readily available at different periods, which brought more families to Barrow.[12]

One major economic effect of the recent boom was to increase the range of living standards in Barrow, establishing a wider pattern of differentiation among households. Rises in standards of living depended primarily on the degree of participation in the boom (that is, gaining in income) and, in particular, success in maintaining levels of employment within the household. However, it is important to note that the extended family networks mediate the distribution of benefits among households, as the differential economic (cash) success of some households is transferred into the production of Native foods that is distributed within and beyond the family group.

Something more than success in the wage economy is necessary for a successful standard of living within the Iñupiat extended family. Production and distribution of Native food is also necessary; cash as well as the desire to hunt and to share are needed to carry out this function. Some households have not improved in their standard of living since before the recent boom, and others have risen only slightly but also need economic support from other family members or social services. While a proportion of these households are comprised of families with elderly members beyond the age production in either cash or subsistence, many include young adults who engage in these activities (wage work or subsistence) irregularly, if at all, despite the increased opportunities of the recent past.

Our results suggest that a significant proportion of Iñupiat households, possibly as high as 15-20 percent, are living near or below poverty levels. Several households in our sample are comprised of young adults, with and without little children, who are living in the home of an elderly parent or grandparent. The economic support of the household is derived from the income (pension, social security, or old age benefits) of the elderly person. In other households, one working individual provides income to the residence, although other adults live in the home. The adults work or hunt irregularly, and in some cases do neither for long periods.[13]

The cooperative extended family relationships operate in many of the households living in poverty, but a significant proportion of "poverty" households in the community are also the locus of social pathology, which may take the form of alcohol abuse, child neglect, intra-family violence, abuse of the elderly, and child abuse. The degree of pathology may be intermittent, short-term, or chronic and long-term. We have described how other families in these networks, as well as other more extended relations that may be better situated socially and economically, have often withdrawn from extending assistance to problem-laden families for reasons of self-preservation and self-protection.

We were not able to accurately describe the extent of poverty and social pathology in the community, due to the short field time, but we suggest that these issues be examined in more detail in future research. The modern boom has resulted in new institutional jobs which will be available for a longer period of time, in comparison to earlier booms, but to fewer individuals. The resulting economic differentiation will be more sustained than earlier periods, and the proportion of the Iñupiat population at lower income levels can be expected to increase. Also, the increased cost of living means that the effects of reduced income will be more severe.

Compared to Iñupiat women, who have more success in higher education and in gaining employment in the administrative sector, men will experience greater negative effects from the economic downturn. Most of the construction jobs that employed Iñupiat males during the boom are disappearing, eliminating opportunities for a group which had grown accustomed to such intermittent, high-paying employment opportunities. Historically, construction has been the avenue of employment for most men in the community, and the recent boom provided a means for the younger, less-skilled population to gain employment. But in the future, the scale of opportunities will shift towards positions requiring the education and experience for administration.[14] Competition for the fewer remaining construction and maintenance jobs, and for the administrative positions, will be more intense. Also, unlike earlier periods, there is increased competition from the multitude of new non-Native migrants.

For some hunters, the recent boom has brought discontinuity in their traditional status relationships in the community. In past periods of construction, experienced hunters learned trades and gained positions of supervision over work crews, which was congruent with their status as an active hunter. Their experiences changed in the recent period, when often younger individuals who were not productive hunters were put into supervisory positions. Previously active hunters experienced this as a disruption in traditional status recognition, which caused dissatisfaction and was a factor in their withdrawal from employment. Some of them have fallen into patterns of drinking and pathology, and are no longer heavily involved in subsistence ventures. They are evidently able to acquire desired subsistence resources through the distribution system, which goes well beyond the extended family, or through the purchase of subsistence products from Stuaqpak or private families.

More research is needed into the effects of the recent period on Iñupiat males. Other trends described above suggest that men may be less successful than women in adapting to the new conditions. For example, mixed households grew faster than other types of households over the past five years, and most of these are the result of Iñupiat women marrying non-Natives. An increasing number of Iñupiat women are establishing separate households and are choosing to raise their families without spouses present. These patterns raise the question of the differential, long-term effects of the recent boom on Iñupiat males, and their relationship to household formation and extended family dynamics.[15]

Extended family relationships are centered around the harvest and distribution of Native food. The most extensive relations usually involve the sharing of food items, and hunters will distribute meat to individuals with whom otherwise they have irregular interaction. External constraints on hunting, such as fish and game regulations, IWC quotas, disturbance of resource species, and closure of land areas due to resource development, have direct effects on extended family relationships and on sharing patterns, in particular.

Since we have left the field, the borough has opened an office to assist in the formation and successful operation of small businesses in Barrow. Also, work has started on drafting a local hire ordinance that would result in higher levels of employment for residents. At the same time, the borough has dismantled its Environmental Protection Office.[16] Also, the borough is no longer active in lawsuits to protect subsistence resources in the nearshore environment.[17] The political leadership has shifted its emphasis away from defense of subsistence whaling, hunting, and fishing areas towards developing employment opportunities in the region. The change is a departure from early policies of the borough, in which both aims were primary goals of local government (see Worl Associates 1978).

At the time of this writing, we read in the morning paper about a Barrow hunter and whaling captain who is being prosecuted for sending a box of Native food to a relative in Anchorage, who is also charged with participating in the offense (Anchorage Daily News, October 2, 1986). U.S. Fish and Wildlife officials intercepted the box, removed some geese, repacked the remaining contents (whale meat, caribou, and fish), and forwarded the box. The men face a $500. fine and as long as six months in jail.[18] This story reads like a return to the 1960s, when a Barrow hunter was arrested in the village for taking a duck out of season, and the village responded with the "Duck-In."[19]

We are suggesting that impacts on hunting and sharing be researched in more depth, and the findings be placed in the historical context of culture contact and change. There are a number of Barrow elders who have thought about changes in the community and can provide valuable insights to these processes. For example, one reflective individual discussed events that he associated with changes in "the cooperative desire to share," and he included reindeer herding, bartering, the decline in fox fur prices after the 1920s, the centralized redistribution practices instituted in Barrow by the Presbyterian Church in the 1930s, competition for employment in the 1940s, and the loss of subsistence lands to oil and gas development after 1970. He suggested that these historical processes introduced different concepts and practices which changed sharing patterns: 1) the development of concentrations of wealth by individuals with no mechanism for redistribution to the community, 2) the concept of scarcity (i.e., goods are scarce, and must be conserved, leaving less to share), 3) changes in the relative value of trade goods, particularly as the value of furs declines, there is less for consumption and sharing, 4) redistribution by the deacons in the village introduced concepts of making contributions (of coal, for example) to an institution, which resulted in less direct sharing among people, 5) competition (for jobs) was a disincentive for cooperation and sharing, 6) reduction of access to traditional hunting lands impacted cooperative sharing patterns and changed the spiritual need between Iñupiat people and their traditional hunting grounds.

Barrow elders discussed with us the changes they have observed in sharing patterns and acknowledged that sharing was more extensive in the past than in the present. They noted that, in the past (prior to the 1920s), the distinction between close family and others (relatives or fellow village residents) was not important, and that people would help those in need whether or not he was a close relation. Today, the perception is that people stick more to their own family groups. The exception to this pattern is the sharing of whale, which continues to be widely distributed throughout the community. New formal institutions have supported and even stimulated changes in sharing and other patterns of interaction among households.

Acts of harvesting, butchering, processing, and sharing products of the hunt serve to maintain close relationships within the extended family group and to engender the very wide-ranging interactions among households beyond family networks.[20] The extensiveness of regular relationships, within and beyond the closer network, is an outcome of the hunting success of the householders. Most cooperative hunting takes place with other members of the network, and women in the network have an important, although not exclusive, role in preparing meat and other products, and in their distribution, which is also important in the family connections.[21]

The organization of extended families in Barrow today is similar to the pattern which Spencer (1957) observed in the early 1950s. He reports that "nuclear family" households and extended families were the major forms of integration in the village. This corresponds to the modern patterns of interrelated households. The purpose of Spencer's work was to reconstruct the "aboriginal" Iñupiat social organization, and his informants had recall at least as far back as 1890, when the last qargi was dismantled in the village. This suggests that the modern forms have continuity from that period, at least.[22]

Spencer carried out his research in Barrow in 1952 and 1953, and his original purpose was to examine the traditional form of social organization (extended families) to determine if it was disrupted by the then on-going boom of oil exploration (ARCON employment). He concluded that extended families continued to function and serve as the means of social integration in the community. He also suggested that, during the recent boom, the "extensive cooperative relationships" which characterized family relationships in the period prior to the boom had contracted during the period of employment boom in which he did his fieldwork, but that they would expand systematically back to earlier levels after employment opportunities decrease, in the future.

The persistence of the Iñupiat extended family has been a dominant feature of Iñupiat society throughout all the periods of change. Our findings demonstrate that the extended family networks are a crucial element in community integration and in the mediation of the impacts of the recent boom, particularly the rise in economic differentiation in the town. However, the increased incidence of social pathology, and the rise in institutional services, is evidence that some family groups are not able to maintain the productive social activity which sustains extended family relationships. These negative patterns are transmitted through successive generations. The effects of economic downturn will be concentrated in these families, through decreasing opportunity and increased competition for wage employment.

Although recent trends have contributed to the centralization of household interrelationships within the extended family group, traditional patterns of social organization are maintained in the modern setting by continued harvests and sharing of fish and game products. Extended family bonds are also reinforced by extensive interhousehold communication and interchange, and through adoptions and traditional naming practices.[23]

Endnotes

1. New community facilities and housing were built at Point Lay, Atqasuk, and Nuiqsut. The village of Point Hope was moved to a new location, and Wainwright, Kaktovik, and Anaktuvuk Pass received substantial levels of improvements and new facilities. Barrow serves as the regional center for this development.

2. This change will become more significant to families as the effects of the post-boom downturn in employment and income are felt. The Iñupiat also found that the new multifamily dwellings constructed by the borough were not compatible with subsistence production needs such as butchering and drying meats.

3. The exception is the NSB School District, which made a concerted effort to hire married couples.

4. Their number may be underrepresented in the census count since it is derived from a self-reporting procedure. The Filipinos in Barrow occupy residential units that are overcrowded by Western standards.

5. Iñupiat households increased by only 19 percent, in comparison.

6. Team player refers to the recreational sports leagues which have active participation by many community members.

7. With the exception of family-related social services (see chapter nine), these patterns were not a salient topic of research in this project.

8. Whaling is of major significance to Barrow Iñupiat and symbolizes the maintenance of their cultural traditions. The activity is prominent in the annual subsistence and ceremonial calendars of the community. Compared to the past, however, whaling crews do not function significantly as political groups or factions in the community or its institutions.

9. Sometimes a close kin tie does not exist, or is not primary, in the relationship between two households, yet there is regular interaction between them. In these cases a relationship exists which is recognized by the individuals involved, such as may result from passing on knowledge about hunting or acting on relationships established by one's father, in a previous generation, but observed in the present. Often a kinship tie can be elicited, if the individual is pressed, but it is clear that the interaction is based on the "special" relationship more than kinship. The content of the relationship, involving gifting and/or reciprocity between the household members, is similar to a kinship tie.

10. As we have illustrated in descriptions (chapter seven), there is substantial variability in the structure of these groups. The variation results from two factors. One is the developmental cycle of the household: the constituent units of these groups are residential family households which vary in composition depending on the developmental stage of the family. For example, some households contain a conjugal family living with one or more elderly parents. Others may include a widow or widower, living perhaps with middle-aged, unmarried children. A simpler form, at a definable stage in the family cycle, may be a couple, or a conjugal family with very young children.

The other factor is that the composition of extended family groups is based on personal relationships between members of different households. In this orientation, the individual is free to follow his own nature in the course of his life (as contrasted with the view that a person is permanently embedded within a set of normative social relationships). The principle of individual choice and volition has not been a central concern of descriptions of Iñupiat social structure, which focus on kinship and the extended family. However, the works on kinship have discussed the functioning of this feature in traditional Iñupiat social (kinship) structure, and include references to the "development" of social relations, flexibility, optionality, substitution, the functional equivalence of roles, and permanent though situationally dormant relations (Burch 1975; Heinrich 1963).

Personalized action is salient in Iñupiat social relationships, which is a similarity it shares with other hunting and gathering societies in the world. See Myers (1986), for example, an ethnography that directs attention to the individual in understanding the structure of relations with the land, with other persons in the local group, and in politics. His introductory statements about the Pintupi are equally descriptive of Iñupiat: "Pintupi life is highly personalized; for people to abstract from the intimate and familiar is unusual. They place emphasis on individuals, their autonomy, and their capacity to choose courses of action" (Myers 1986:18).

11. Vanstone's fieldwork was conducted in 1955-56.

12. The economic (employment) opportunities attracted population migration which diversified Barrow's population, bringing together more numerous but less closely-related households (i.e., a population less fully integrated by family or kinship relationships, compared to villages). This process of population migration, which continues to be characteristic of Barrow in the recent period, involves both immigration and emigration. Historically, it is a factor in the formation of family groups in the town.

13. Some of the sample households in this category maintained an adequate standard of living through participation in active extended family networks, supplemented through important relationships with other households that have stronger ties to other family groups. On the other hand, one group of interrelated households was selected purposely to examine relationship patterns at the poverty level, and some of the constituent households were clearly below poverty standards.

14. A proportion of operations and maintenance jobs, which require the type of skills to which Iñupiat males are accustomed, will persist in the future (to service the new facilities, etc.).

15. Vanstone (ibid.) pointed out in a study of Point Hope in an earlier period that some households were not successful at both wage work and hunting. The men of these households were poorly prepared and equipped for hunting, partly because they did not have the cash to buy equipment, but they were also unsuccessful in gaining wage employment even for short periods. The patterns in modern Barrow are similar but more complex, as we have shown. In the modern setting, one research question should be whether the "unsuccessful" patterns are increasing in proportion to the successful households, as a result of the recent changes. The research should also address connections between these changes and patterns of social pathology in the community.

16. In the 1970s, this division was formed to protect the land and sea subsistence areas from the negative effects petroleum of development.

17. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the borough was involved in several lawsuits against the federal government for leasing areas in the path of migrating whales.

18. "The geese had been taken legally but out of season for subsistence use," according to the account. The men were charged under a 1925 law prohibiting the shipping of game species, a measure intended to protect game animals from export out of state by white hunters. The Barrowite sent two boxes, and presumably faces two charges. One of the recipients in Anchorage is also a whaling captain, who is temporarily in Anchorage while his daughter is in the hospital recovering from a violent attack "by an ax-wielding assailant who killed her husband and left her crippled."

19. After the man was arrested, the local Iñupiat magistrate suggested to all the village hunters that they bring their ducks to the Fish and Wildlife officer so they could also be charged under the law. The resulting demonstration led to a recognition of local subsistence practices, and the de facto practice by federal agencies of not prosecuting according to seasons established for sportsmen in the contiguous states (see chapter two).

20. The boundaries of these family networks are overlapping, as illustrated by those examples which include households that are active in more than one family network. Our decisions to include in the description a household with primary ties to another network were based on the existence of regular, and usually reciprocal, relationships between that household and others in the network. The relations included substantial contributions of meat to at least one household in the network.

21. In the past (estimated time period, prior to World War II), there was a more strictly observed division of labor between the hunter and his wife, who had the central role in the distribution of meat to other households in the village. "In those days the man was the hunter and he provided the game. But after a successful hunt, he gave the game to the wife. Then it was the wife's responsibility to prepare the food. And the wife knew who to share with in the community, who was in need. And it was entirely up to her to prepare meat and to share it or store it for future use within the particular group or family." This description is similar to the distribution patterns reported by Bogojavlensky (1969) for a Bering Strait community in the early 1950s. A more recent description of the importance of women in distribution in another Bering Strait village is provided by Sobelman (1984). In modern Barrow, the hunter frequently makes distributions to other households. Women have the major role in the butchering of seals (ugruk and spotted seal), but with other sea mammals (walrus) and inland resources such as caribou and fish, men often have an equal responsibility. The major exception is whale, in which men have the primary role in butchering and the wife of the captain may make wide ranging distributions.

22. By the 1880s, the transition from more complex local family households to those more simple in structure, but similar in size, had occurred if one accepts the historical sequence suggested by Burch (1975, summarized in chapter seven). On the other hand, it may be that households in Barrow were never as complex in structure as Burch suggests for the area around Kivalina. It is interesting to note that Bogojavlensky (1969), who also engaged in ethnohistorical research in an Inupiaq community (his purpose was specifically to describe fluctuations in factional alliances over time), did not report a change or transition in household structure since the end of the last century in King Island communities. In these villages, which were not as directly affected by the whaling period as were northern communities such as Barrow, the structure of households is similar to that reported by Spencer and ourselves for Barrow. In King Island, the larger social unit beyond the household was the skin boat crew, which served as the nexus of cooperative production and politics.

23. The frequency of adoptions appears to be as significant as in the past, but a few women have utilized the services of state agencies to put their infants up for adoption to other families, which is new. The agency now maintains a list of families who wish to adopt newborn children.

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Appendix A

Household Protocol

Note: The questions listed below served as a guide to our household interviews. They were not always asked in the same way. For example, an interview with a whaling captain would have a greater emphasis on the costs associated with whaling, the meat he needs for the whaling crew, his patterns of cooperative equipment ownership and use, and the distribution of the products of the hunt. In contrast, a discussion with a widow would have more emphasis on sources of meat for the household, her butchering and sharing activities, sewing, and her contributions to hunting and fishing activities.

HOUSEHOLD RESIDENTS:

Name, Relationship to respondent, Age, Education

ADOPTIONS:

Have you adopted any children?

Relationship to parents of adopted child:

Reason for adoption:

Does __________ visit?

Do you share Native food with him/her?

Have any of your children been adopted by another family?

Are you or spouse related to adoptive parents?

Reason for adoption:

How were the arrangements made with adoptive parents?

Do you visit the child?

Does child or adoptive parents visit you?

Does child or adoptive father hunt with you?

Do you share Native food with them?

NAMING RELATIONSHIP:

Respondent's Iñupiaq Name:

Named After Whom:

Do any of your children or grandchildren have this name?

Who else do you know that has the same Iñupiaq Name:

Are they related to you?

Do you go hunting with them?

Do you share your catch with them?

Do they share with you?

Do they visit with you?

Are any of your children named after someone else?

Whom are they named after, and relationship?

Who gave them the name?

Is there any special relationship with another Iñupiaq with the same name?

SUBSISTENCE RELATIONSHIPS:

Members of captain's whaling crew and relationship.

With Whom do you go "boating" for ugruk, walrus, seal and polar bear hunting?

Does the owner of the boat get the skins and tusks?

Who helps the women butcher ugruk, walrus, seals and their relationship?

What is the usual practice for dividing up the catch of ugruks, walrus, seal after it has been butchered?

Others to whom to you usually give ugruk, walrus or seals?

Where do you store the meat?

What do you hunt/fish when you go camping?

Do you have a permanent camp site?

With whom do you go camping and their relationship?

Who butchers caribou meat/fish?

To whom do you usually give fish/caribou?

Where do you store the meat?

Do you hunt at the shooting station?

Do you have a cabin out there?

Who regularly shares their ugruk, walrus, seals, caribou with you, and relationship?

Do you buy any Native food?   yes   no   type

Does anyone from other villages send you Native food/their relationship to you?

Do you send Native food to people in other villages, and relationships?

How often do you eat Native food?

SUBSISTENCE EXPENDITURES OR CONTRIBUTIONS:

Item, number, cost, and method of payment (cash-credit):

Whaling:

Umiaq:
Sleds:
Ski-doos:
Darting Gun:
Shoulder Gun:
Buoy, lines, lance:
Bombs:
Gas:
Oil:
Tent:
CB: Antenna: Battery:
Grub:
In some cases--18 foot aluminum boat and motor
Miscellaneous costs

Boating Costs:

- Boat and Motor:
- Gas:
- Oil:
- Rifles:
- Shells - boxes:

Duck Hunting Costs:

- Shotgun:
- Shells - boxes:

Camping Costs:

- Do you fly into a camp?
  - Flight cost?
  - Number of times you fly in?
- Travel by ski-doo?
- Travel by boat?
- Gas - drums:
- Oil:
- Grub:
- White Gas:
- Kerosene - drum:
- Shells - boxes:
- Boat:
- Motor:
- Three-wheelers:
- Ski-doos:
- Ski-doo parts:
- CB:
- Stove:
- Heater:
- Rifles:
- Shotguns:

WOMEN'S PRODUCTION:

Do you sew parkas or other hunting clothes? For Whom?

Who sews husband's umiaq?

Do you dry meats/types?

Do you make uraq?

Do you make oil/type?

Do you have an ice cellar?

Do you have a freezer?

How else do you preserve Native food?

Other subsistence processing activities:

VISITING:

Names of individuals who visit and their relationship:

HOUSEHOLD MONTHLY INCOME:

Sources and amounts
Household employment/unemployment

HOUSEHOLD MONTHLY EXPENDITURES:

Rent:

Food (tanik):

Electric:

Gas:

Telephone:

Water:

Truck/auto Fuel:

Loan Payments:

Other:

Observations on Sharing-Hunting:

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Appendix B

Chronology of Institutions

Traditional Period: Pre-Contact

Extended Families

Qargi

Early Period: 1900 - 1940

Extended Families

Presbyterian Church

- Church Deacons

School

Mothers Club

Public Health Hospital

U.S. Commissioner

Recent Period: 1940 - 1970

Extended Families

Religious

- Presbyterian Church
  - Church Deacons
- Bethel Assembly of God Church
- Catholic Church

Educational

- BIA Day School

Political

- Village Council (IRA, Municipal)
- Barrow Whaling Captains
- Iñupiat Paitot
- Arctic Slope Native Association

Judicial

- Magistrate

Health and Social Welfare

- Public Health Hospital
- Barrow Health Board
- Barrow Improvement Board

Voluntary Organizations

- Mothers Club
- Junior Chamber of Commerce

Military

- National Guard

Modern Period: 1970 - 1985

Interrelated Households

Religious

- Presbyterian Church
  - Church Deacons
- Bethel Assembly of God Church
- Catholic Church
- Baha'i
- Baptist Church

Educational

- NSB School District
- NSB School Board
- Curriculum Committee
- Alternative Education Committee
- Federal Programs Parent Advisory Committee
  - Indian Education Parent Committee
  - Johnson O'Malley Parent Advisory Committee
  - Bilingual Advisory Committee
  - Advisory Committee for Community Schools and Adult Basic Education
- Barrow Parent Teachers Association
- Iñupiat University (defunct 1978)
- NSB Iñupiat College of the Arctic Board of Trustees
- ASRC Scholarship Committee

Political

North Slope Borough
NSB Assembly
NSB Planning Commission
NSB Commission on History, Language, and Culture
NSB Barrow Zoning and Planning Board
NSB Arctic Policy Review Committee (Coastal Zone Management Program)
NSB Fish and Game Management Committee
NSB Science Advisory Committee
NSB Arctic Science Prize Candidate Review Committee
NSB Utilities Board
NSB Service Area 10 Utilities Board
NSB Personnel Board
NSB Civil Defense Advisory Board
NSB Kuparuk Industrial Center Board
Iñupiat Community of the Arctic Slope
City of Barrow
Native of Barrow Council
AKOUNA-TC (Association of North Slope village councils)
Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission
Barrow Whaling Captains Association
Western Arctic State Fish and Game Advisory Committee

Judicial/Legal

State of Alaska Court System (Superior and District Courts)
Alaska Legal Service Corporation

Health and Social Welfare

Public Health Hospital
NSB Health Board
NSB Rabies Control Board
Children's Receiving Home
Arctic Women in Crisis Center
Temporary Placement Center
Senior Citizens Center
Teen Center
Community Center
Recreation Center

Voluntary Organizations

Mothers Club
Chamber of Commerce
Lions Club
Veterans of Foreign Wars
Volunteer Fire Department
Barrow Search and Rescue
KBRW Board of Directors

Voluntary Organizations (cont.)

- Barrow Dancers
- Motor Mushers
- Piuraagiagta (Let's Go Play)
- Boy/Girl Scouts
- Filipino American Society

Military

- Alaska National Guard

Economic

- ANCSA Corporations
  - Arctic Slope Regional Corporation
    - ASRC Board of Directors
    - ASRC Housing Authority
  - Utkeagvik Iñupiat Corporation
    - UIC Board of Directors

Appendix C

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Table A

Population by Age in 1970

Age (Years)	Male		Female		Total	
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native
Under 5	134	18	142	12	276	30
5-14	315	11	302	11	617	22
15-24	198	14	199	14	397	28
25-34	113	39	103	24	216	63
35-44	94	14	71	9	165	23
45-54	55	6	51	8	106	14
55-64	46	6	35	4	81	10
65 +	28	4	23	1	51	5
	983	112	926	83	1,909	195

Percent Native Population in 1970

	Male	Female	Total
Under 5	88.2	92.2	90.2
5-14	96.6	96.5	96.6
15-24	93.4	93.4	93.4
25-34	74.3	81.1	77.4
35-44	87.0	88.8	87.8
45-54	90.2	86.4	88.3
55-64	88.5	89.7	89.0
65 +	87.5	95.8	91.1

Note: Native includes Iñupiat, Indian, Aleut, and American Indian.

Source: U.S. Census.

Table B

Population by Age in 1980

Age (Years)	Male		Female		Total	
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native
Under 5	89	10	85	21	174	31
5-14	175	29	189	23	364	52
15-24	230	48	217	36	447	84
25-34	160	115	136	82	296	197
35-44	76	47	77	11	153	58
45-54	78	23	60	8	138	31
55-64	43	21	32	6	75	27
65 +	41	7	32	0	73	7
	892	300	828	187	1,720	487

Percent Native Population in 1980

	Male	Female	Total
Under 5	89.9	80.2	84.9
5-14	85.8	89.2	87.5
15-24	82.7	85.8	84.2
25-34	58.2	62.4	80.0
35-44	61.8	87.5	72.5
45-54	77.2	88.2	81.7
55-64	67.2	84.2	73.5
65 +	85.4	100.0	91.3

Note: Native includes Iñupiat, Indian, Aleut, and American Indian.

Source: U.S. Census.

Table C

Population by Age in 1980 (Detail)

Age (Years)	Male		Female		Total	
	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native	Native	Non-Native
Under 5	89	10	85	21	174	31
5-9	95	16	98	15	193	31
10-14	80	13	91	8	171	21
15-19	125	16	120	8	245	24
20-24	105	32	97	28	202	60
25-59	95	52	85	50	180	102
30-34	65	63	51	32	116	95
35-39	56	19	48	3	104	22
40-44	20	28	29	8	49	36
45-49	47	17	37	1	84	18
50-54	31	6	23	7	54	13
55-59	28	12	22	0	50	12
60-64	15	9	10	6	25	15
65 +	41	7	32	0	73	7
	892	300	828	187	1,720	487

Percent Native Population in 1980

	Male	Female	Total
Under 5	89.9	80.2	84.9
5-9	85.6	86.7	86.2
10-14	86.0	91.9	89.1
15-19	88.7	93.8	91.1
20-24	76.6	77.6	77.1
25-29	64.6	63.0	63.8
30-34	50.8	61.5	55.0
35-39	74.7	94.1	82.5
40-44	41.7	78.4	57.7
45-49	73.4	97.4	82.4
50-54	83.8	76.7	80.6
55-59	70.0	100.0	80.7
60-64	62.5	62.5	62.5
65 +	85.4	100.0	91.3
Total	74.8	81.6	77.9

Note: The Native catagory includes Iñupiat, Indians, and Aleuts of Alaska and all other American Indians.

Source: U.S. Census.

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Table D

Population by Age in 1985

	Number			Column Percent			Row Percent		
	TOTAL	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	TOTAL	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE	TOTAL	NATIVE	NON-NATIVE
AGE									
Under 5	365	274	91	12.5	15.4	8.1	100	75.1	24.9
5 - 9	235	170	65	8.1	9.6	5.8	100	72.3	27.7
10 - 14	201	144	57	6.9	8.1	5.0	100	71.6	28.4
15 - 19	240	179	61	8.3	10.1	5.4	100	74.6	25.4
20 - 24	349	215	134	12.0	12.1	11.9	100	61.6	38.4
25 - 29	347	185	162	11.9	10.4	14.3	100	53.3	46.7
30 - 34	313	147	166	10.8	8.3	14.7	100	47.0	53.0
35 - 39	250	108	142	8.6	6.1	12.6	100	43.2	56.8
40 - 44	174	84	90	6.0	4.7	8.0	100	48.3	51.7
45 - 49	104	49	55	3.6	2.8	4.9	100	47.1	52.9
50 - 54	101	51	50	3.5	2.9	4.4	100	50.5	49.5
55 - 59	81	52	29	2.8	2.9	2.6	100	64.2	35.8
60 - 64	53	34	19	1.8	1.9	1.7	100	64.2	35.8
65 & over	96	87	9	3.3	4.9	.8	100	90.6	9.4
Median Age (yrs.)	25	22	29						

Number of Missing Observations = 107

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

Table E

Population by Race in 1985

	Number			Column Percent			Row Percent		
	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	MALE	FEMALE
RACE									
Native									
Inupiat	1823	906	917	60.4	56.6	64.9	100	49.7	50.3
Indian/Aleut	23	13	10	.8	.8	.7	100	56.5	43.5
Non-Native									
White	849	513	336	28.1	32.0	23.8	100	60.4	39.6
Black	32	20	12	1.1	1.2	.8	100	62.5	37.5
Am. Indian	18	8	10	.6	.5	.7	100	44.4	55.6
Oriental	147	76	71	4.9	4.7	5.0	100	51.7	48.3
Hispanic	50	27	23	1.7	1.7	1.6	100	54.0	46.0
Other	62	35	27	2.1	2.2	1.9	100	56.5	43.5
Unallocated	12	4	8	.4	.2	.6	100	33.3	66.7
Total	3016	1602	1414	100.0	53.1	46.9	100	53.1	46.0

Number of Missing Observations = 0

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

Table F
Population Characteristics in 1985 - Age and Race

AGE	Total	White	Iñupiat	Indian/ Aleut	Hispanic	Oriental	American Indian	Other	Black	Unallocated Non-Native
Under 5	365	57	270	4	9	11	3	9	1	1
5 - 9	235	41	169	1	4	12	-	4	4	-
10 - 14	201	41	142	2	-	11	-	4	1	-
15 - 19	240	39	177	2	4	7	-	8	3	-
20 - 24	349	95	210	5	4	15	1	10	8	1
25 - 29	347	115	183	2	13	19	4	5	5	1
30 - 34	313	127	146	1	5	23	4	6	1	1
35 - 39	250	118	104	4	2	18	-	4	-	-
40 - 44	174	71	83	1	4	8	-	3	3	1
45 - 49	104	38	48	1	2	5	3	5	2	-
50 - 54	101	42	51	-	-	4	3	1	-	-
55 - 59	81	21	52	-	2	4	-	2	-	-
60 - 64	53	13	34	-	1	5	-	-	-	-
65 +	96	5	87	-	-	2	-	1	1	-
All Ages	2909	822	1756	23	50	144	18	62	29	5
Column Percent	100.0	28.3	60.4	.8	1.7	5.0	.6	2.1	1.0	.2
Median Age	25	30	22	21	27	29	30	24	23	26

Number of Missing Observations = 107

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

Table G
Population Characteristics in 1985 - Age and Sex

AGE	Total	White	Iñupiat	Indian/ Aleut	Hispanic	Oriental	American Indian	Other	Black	Unallocated Non-Native
MALES	1546	496	873	13	27	73	8	35	20	1
Under 5	180	29	135	3	-	9	-	4	-	-
5 - 9	109	15	80	1	1	5	-	4	3	-
10 - 14	102	26	67	2	-	5	-	2	-	-
15 - 19	119	19	88	-	3	3	-	3	3	-
20 - 24	182	53	104	2	3	9	1	4	6	-
25 - 29	199	77	89	1	11	10	3	4	4	-
30 - 34	164	73	70	-	3	12	1	3	1	1
35 - 39	140	77	52	2	1	5	-	3	-	-
40 - 44	105	48	43	1	2	6	-	3	2	-
45 - 49	57	25	23	1	1	1	2	3	1	-
50 - 54	61	28	31	-	-	1	1	-	-	-
55 - 59	52	17	28	-	1	4	-	2	-	-
60 - 64	27	5	19	-	1	2	-	-	-	-
65 +	49	4	44	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Percent	100.0	32.1	56.5	.8	1.7	4.7	.5	2.3	1.3	.1
Number of Missing Observations = 56										
FEMALES	1363	326	883	10	23	71	10	27	9	4
Under 5	185	28	135	1	9	2	3	5	1	1
5 - 9	126	26	89	-	3	7	-	-	1	-
10 - 14	99	15	75	-	-	6	-	2	1	-
15 - 19	121	20	89	2	1	4	-	5	-	-
20 - 24	167	42	106	3	1	6	-	6	2	1
25 - 29	148	38	94	1	2	9	1	1	1	1
30 - 34	149	53	76	1	2	11	3	3	-	-
35 - 39	110	41	52	2	1	13	-	1	-	-
40 - 44	69	23	40	-	2	2	-	-	1	1
45 - 49	47	13	25	-	1	4	1	2	1	-
50 - 54	40	14	20	-	-	3	2	1	-	-
55 - 59	29	4	24	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
60 - 64	26	8	15	-	-	3	-	-	-	-
65 +	47	1	43	-	-	1	-	1	1	-
Percent	100.0	23.9	64.8	.7	1.7	5.2	.7	2.0	.7	.3

Number of Missing Observations = 51

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

Table H

Ethnicity of Household Heads

Ethnic Group	Number	Percent	Cumulative Percent
White	413	43.9	43.9
Iñupiat	441	46.9	90.8
Indian/Aleut	6	.69	1.4
Hispanic	13	1.49	2.8
Oriental	29	3.19	5.9
American Indian	7	.79	6.6
Other	18	1.99	8.5
Black	12	1.39	9.8
Unallocated Non-Native	2	.21	0.0
TOTAL	941	100.0	

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

Table I

Average Age of Household Heads in 1978 and 1985

	1978	1985
Total	40.4	39.5
Native	42.6	43.2
non-Native	35.1	36.3

Source: North Slope Borough surveys.

Table J

1980 Barrow Employment

Sector (Company Name)	Number Employed
Mining	
ARCO	9
Env. Support Services	1
Husky Oil	1
Prudhoe Bay	3
Sohio BP	1
Total	15
Construction	
Aamodt Construction	2
Alaska General	6
Alaska Diversified	2
ASAG	5
Benson's	1
Blackstock	14
CE Building	1
Construction SE	1
Construction	7
Env. Concepts	1
Eskimo Inc.	27
Haskell	8
McCann	3
NECA	1
Plumber	2
Seelectrician	1
Shontz, Inc.	2
SKW	3
Totem Electric	3
UIC Construction	1
Total	91
Trans., Comm., P.U.	
Cape Smythe	13
Alascom	1
Arctic Comm.	1
Arctic Slope Audio	3
ASRC TV	2
BUECI	25
Cable TV	1
GENTEL	3
GTE	1
Iñupiat Water	1
ITT	18
Trans., Comm., P.U. (cont.)	
JenAir	5
KBRW	1
RCA	1
Siluk Kuagvik	1
Tundra Taxi	3
Wein	14
Total	94
Trade	
Arctic Coast Shop	1
Arctic Skidoos	1
ASRC Bakery	1
Barrow Mechanical	1
Brower Enterprises	1
Brower Stove	5
Brower's Cafe	2
Cash & Carry	3
Eskimo Inc.	2
Flowers & Things	1
Igloo Enterprises	1
Ken's Restaurant	1
Ken's Kitchen	1
Pepe's	11
Self-employed	1
Shontz, Inc.	1
Stuaqpak	12
Tundra Bakery	2
We Boutique	1
Total	49
Finance	
Alaska National Bank	6
ASRC	59
UIC	11
Total	76
Services	
Alaska Legal Services	4
Alaska Tour & Mark	2
Arctic Coast	1
Assembly of God	1

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Table J (continued)

Services (cont.)

Barrow Mechanical	4
CETA	3
Consultant	1
Design Group	1
Elephant Pot	1
Eskimo Inc.	1
Tundra Tours	5
Housekeeper	1
ICAS	9
Iñupiat Cleaners	4
Iñupiat University	7
Iñupiat Water	2
Mechanic	1
Minister	1
Presbyterian Church	2
Print Shop	1
Prudhoe Bay	1
Total	53

Federal Government

Federal Aviation Adm.	7
Public Health Service	44
Post Office	5
U.S. Marines	1
Weather Bureau	6
Total	63

State Government

Dept. of Fish & Game	1
Court	2
Div. of Aviation	1
Health & Social Services	1
Legislative Office	1
State Health Center	1
Univ. of Alaska	1
Total	8

Local Government

City of Barrow	6
NSB Health	26
NSB	165
NSB Admin.	2
NSB Assessing	3
NSB Constr.	199
NSB EPO	5
NSB Garage	1
NSB Housing	5
NSB Housing Dept.	2
NSB Planning	3
NSB Public Safety	19
NSB Public Works	7
NSB Receiving Home	1
NSB Sanitation	10
NSB Utilities	6
NSB SD	135
Total	599

Retirement & Social Assistance

AFDC	2
Disability	1
OAA	1
Pension	1
Retirement	12
Social Security	42
Unemployment	1
VA	1
Welfare	1
Total	62

No Information 572

Source: NSB survey.

Table K

1985 Barrow Employment

Sector (Company Name)	Number Employed
Mining	
ARCO	1
Prudhoe Bay	2
Sohio BP	3
VECO	3
Total	9
Construction	
MMCW	3
Frank Moolin (utilidor)	23
Blackstock	17
Eskimo Inc.	6
SKW	14
Vrankaert Co.	2
Border Ventures	2
Total	67
Trans., Comm., P.U.	
Arcticab	4
Barrow Cable TV	4
BUECI	27
Cape Smythe Air Service	20
Barrow Air	2
GTE	3
KBRW	10
MarkAir	9
Tundra Air	2
Tundra Taxi	2
Total	83
Trade	
Ehredt, Mike	2
A.C. Co.	25
Arctic Cash & Carry	1
Arctic Coast Trading Post	3
Arctic Hair	2
Arctic Hotel	2
Arctic Pizza	1
Burger Barn	4
Danner Co.	7
Ken's	3
Trade (cont.)	
Mattie's Cafe	5
Pepe's	1
Self-employed	23
Top of the World	7
Cape Smythe Whaling & Trading	2
Bear Facts	1
Sam & Lee's	4
Eskimo Dance Group	1
Total	94
Finance	
Alaska National Bank	4
ASRC	36
UIC	34
Total	74
Services	
Boatel	2
Assembly of God Church	2
Iñupiat Water	1
Presbyterian Church	4
Redi Electric	1
Water Services	1
Gueco	1
Total	12
Federal Government	
Army	1
Federal Aviation Adm.	5
Military	1
Post Office	6
Public Health Service	45
Other	5
Total	63
State Government	
Alaska National Guard	1
Job Service	1
Alaska Court System	4

Table K (continued)

State Government (cont.)	
Other	14
Total	20
Local Government	
Barrow Search & Rescue	1
City of Barrow	11
NSB	471
NSB School District	100
AEWC	2
Total	585
Unknown	
Bill Barren	1
Guy Bowen	1
Fred Bowers	1
Hunter	1
Tony Kreuger	1
Renfroe	1
Roberta Leavitt	1
Jim Spelgatti	1
Enter. Ted	1
CF Center	1
Selk Transator	1
IW	1
NWS	1
PW	1
Total	14
Total Employment	1,021

Note: These employment figures should be interpreted as illustrative of trends, rather than a listing of total employment. The survey recorded an additional 319 individuals who did not report an employer; the actual employment in Barrow is between 1,000 and 1,300.

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

Table L

1985 Employment by Household Size, Native Households

Size of Household	Number of Persons Employed in Household 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Row Total
1	32	38	-	-	-	-	-	-	70
2	28	38	23	-	-	-	-	-	89
3	24	42	33	4	-	-	-	-	103
4	10	47	33	3	3	-	-	-	96
5	10	29	23		1	-	-	-	72
6	4	29	9	9	2	1	-	-	54
7	3	6	6	4	2	-	1	-	22
8	3	4	3	4	-	-	-	-	14
9	1	2	1	1	-	1	-	-	6
10	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	3
11	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1	4
13	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Total	115	238	134	35	8	3	1	1	535

	Percent Household Employment 0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Row Total
1	27.8	16.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	13.1
2	24.3	16.0	17.2	-	-	-	-	-	16.6
3	20.9	17.6	24.6	11.4	-	-	-	-	19.3
4	8.7	19.7	24.6	8.6	37.5	-	-	-	17.9
5	8.7	12.2	17.2	25.7	12.5	-	-	-	13.5
6	3.5	12.2	6.7	25.7	25.0	33.3	-	-	10.1
7	2.6	2.5	4.5	11.4	25.0	-	100.0	-	4.1
8	2.6	1.7	2.2	11.4	-	-	-	-	2.6
9	.9	.8	.7	2.9	-	33.3	-	-	1.1
10	-	.4	1.5	-	-	-	-	-	.6
11	-	-	.7	2.9	-	33.3	-	100.0	.7
13	-	.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	.4
Total	21.5	44.5	25.0	6.5	1.5	.6	.2	.2	100.0

Number of Missing Observations = 0   Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

Table M

1985 Employment by Household Size, Non-Native Households

Size of Household	Number of Persons Employed in Household 0	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	10	Row Total
1	10	142	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	152
2	4	32	76	-	-	-	-	-	-	112
3	1	9	27	12	-	-	-	-	-	49
4	-	6	23	10	5	-	-	-	-	44
5	-	2	13	3	3	-	-	-	-	21
6	-	-	3	2	1	1	-	-	-	7
7	-	-	2	1	1	1	-	-	-	5
8	-	-	1	-	-	3	1	-	-	5
9	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
10	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
12	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Total	15	191	145	28	11	7	1	1	1	400

	Percent Household Employment 0	1	2	3	4	5	7	8	10	Row Total
1	66.7	74.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	38.0
2	26.7	16.8	52.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	28.0
3	6.7	4.7	18.6	42.9	-	-	-	-	-	12.3
4	-	3.1	15.9	35.7	45.5	-	-	-	-	11.0
5	-	1.0	9.0	10.7	27.3	-	-	-	-	5.3
6	-	-	2.1	7.1	9.1	14.3	-	-	-	1.8
7	-	-	1.4	3.6	9.1	14.3	-	-	-	1.3
8	-	-	.7	-	-	42.9	100.0	-	-	1.3
9	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	-	100.0	-	.5
10	-	-	-	-	-	14.3	-	-	100.0	.5
12	-	-	-	-	9.1	-	-	-	-	.3
Total	3.8	47.8	36.3	7.0	2.8	1.8	.3	.3	.3	100.0

Number of Missing Observations = 0

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

Table N

Distribution of Welfare (AFDC) and Food Stamp (FS) Payments (1984-1985)

		Number of Households			Amount Received		
		AFDC	FS	TOTAL	AFDC	FS	TOTAL
84	July	21	17	29	13,376	2,871	16,247
	August	26	19	36	18,207	5,869	24,076
	Sept.	28	23	43	21,803	7,655	29,458
	Oct.	35	25	46	24,757	9,128	33,885
	Nov.	32	26	45	19,364	7,271	26,635
	Dec.	28	20	38	16,991	4,997	21,988
85	Jan.	23	17	30	16,239	5,392	21,631
	Feb.	19	15	26	10,721	3,295	14,016
	March	27	15	34	18,028	3,714	21,742
	April	28	14	34	17,879	4,083	21,962
	May	31	22	41	19,240	7,214	26,454
	June	31	21	43	20,957	6,495	27,452
					217,562	67,984	285,546

Note: Total household column includes households that receive both AFDC and Food Stamps. The numbers of combined cases are the following:

1984	July	9
	August	9
	September	8
	October	14
	November	13
	December	10
1985	January	10
	February	8
	March	8
	April	8
	May	11
	June	9

Source: Alaska Department of Health and Social Services, Division of Public Assistance.

Table O

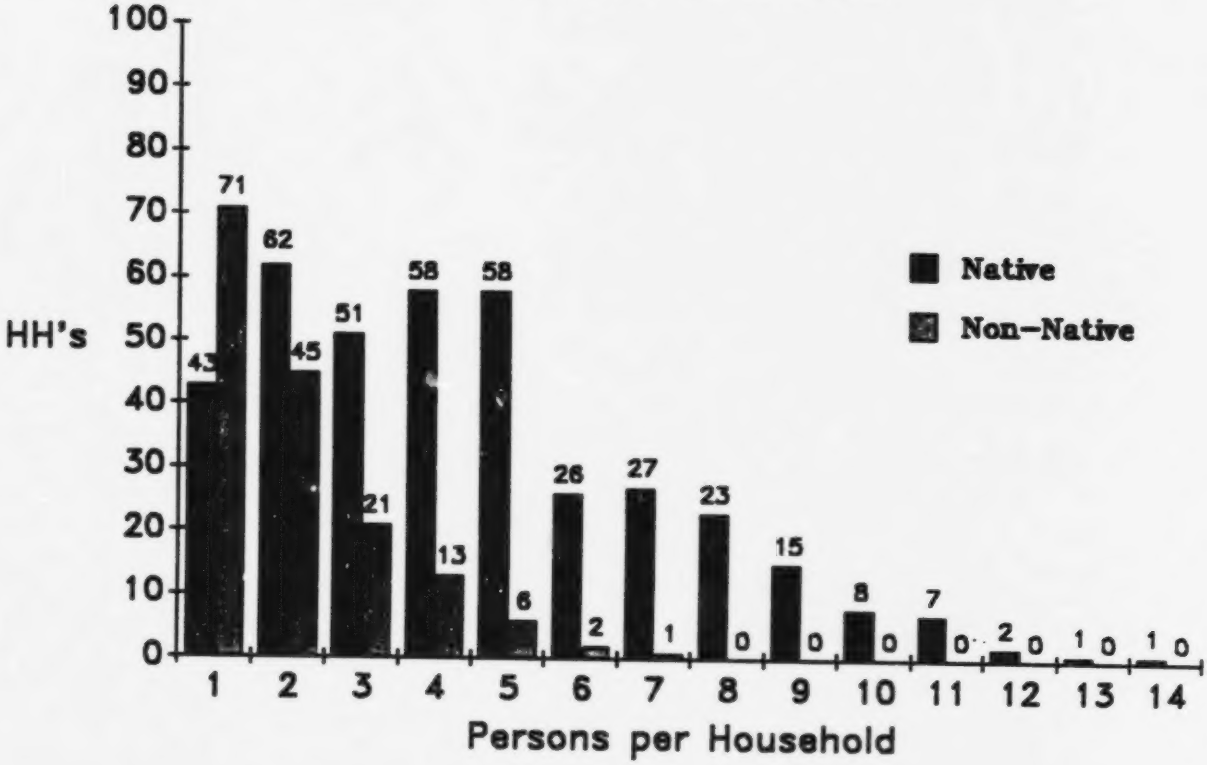
Barrow Household Income in 1979

	Number of Households	Percent
Less than $5,000	59	10
$5- 9,999	20	3
$10-14,999	52	9
$15-19,999	32	5
$20-29,999	99	16
$30-39,999	97	16
$40-49,999	92	15
$59-75,999	103	17
$75,000 +	53	9
	607	100

Source: U.S. Census.

Figure A

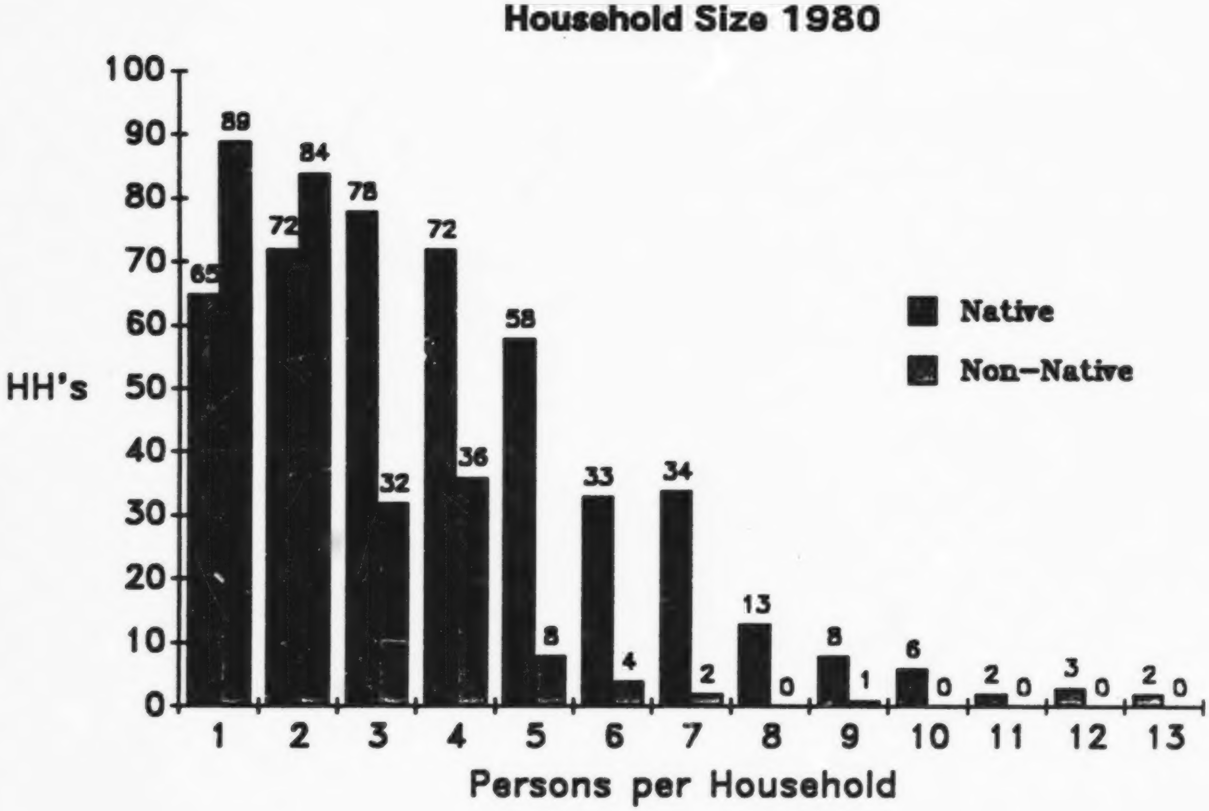
Household Size 1978



Note: Native includes households with Iñupiat, Indian, or Aleut in residence.

Source: North Slope Borough survey.

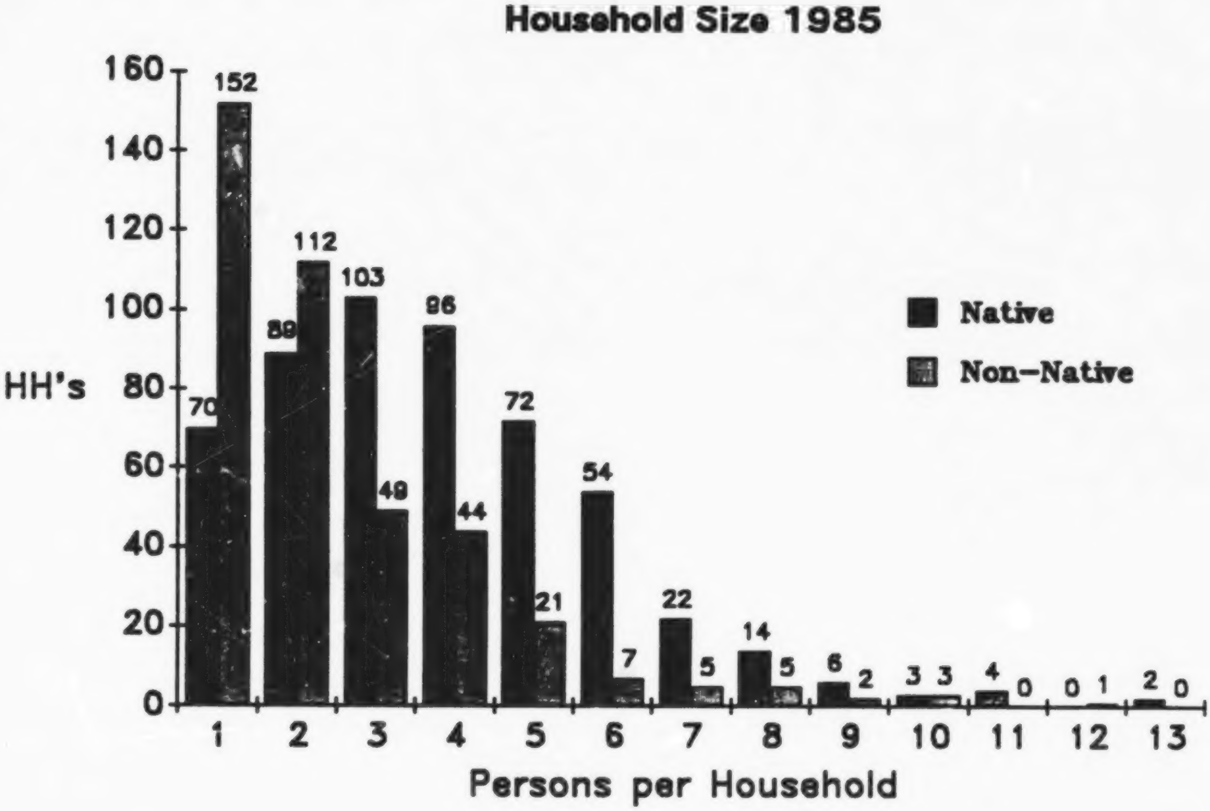
Figure B



Note: Native includes households with Iñupiat, Indian, or Aleut in residence.

Source: North Slope Borough survey.

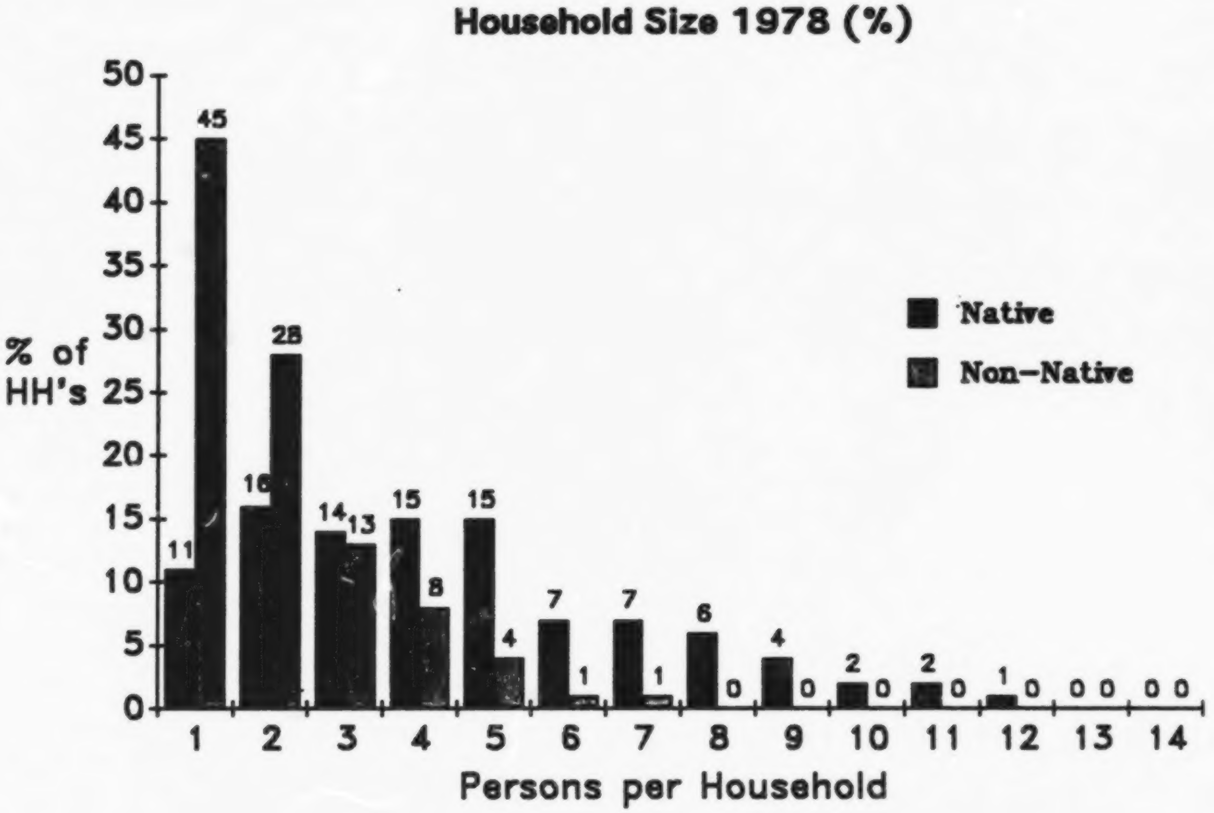
Figure C



Note: Native includes households with Iñupiat, Indian, or Aleut in residence.

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

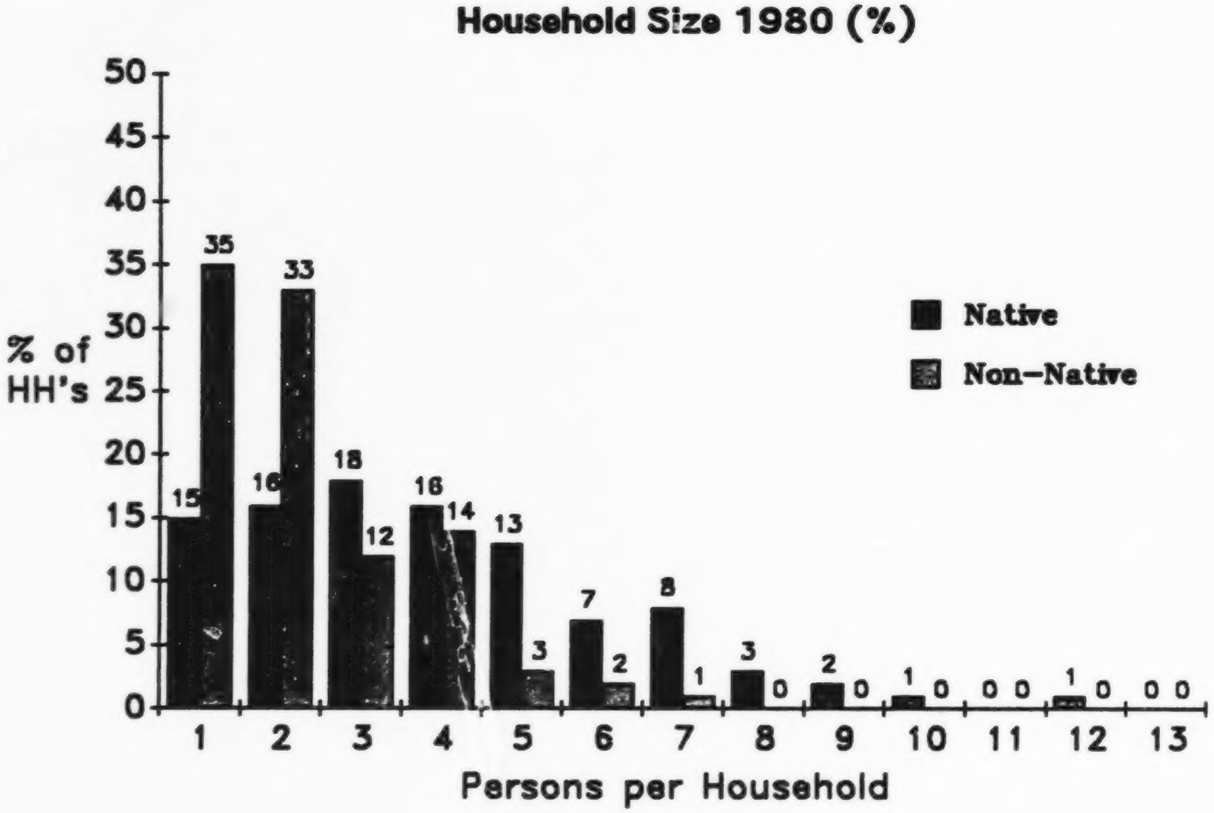
Figure D



Note: Native includes households with Iñupiat, Indian, or Aleut in residence.

Source: North Slope Borough survey.

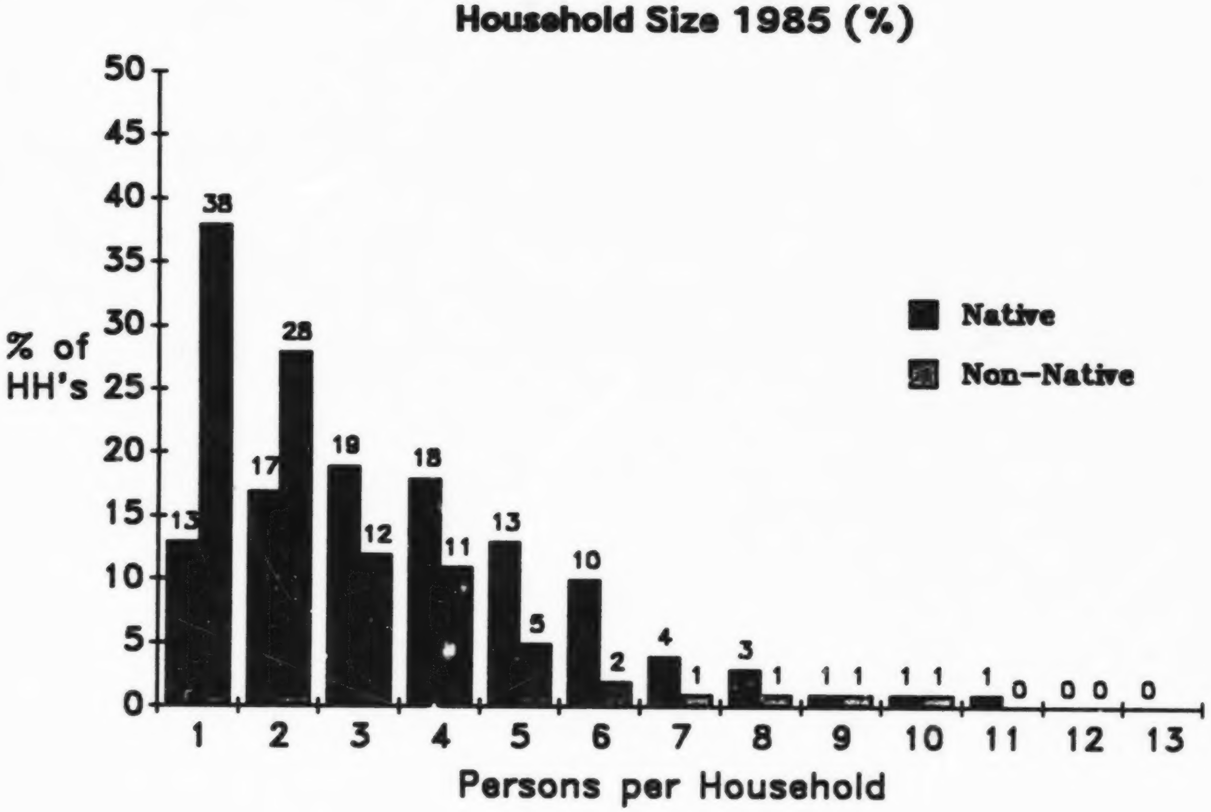
Figure E



Note: Native includes households with Iñupiat, Indian, or Aleut in residence.

Source: North Slope Borough survey.

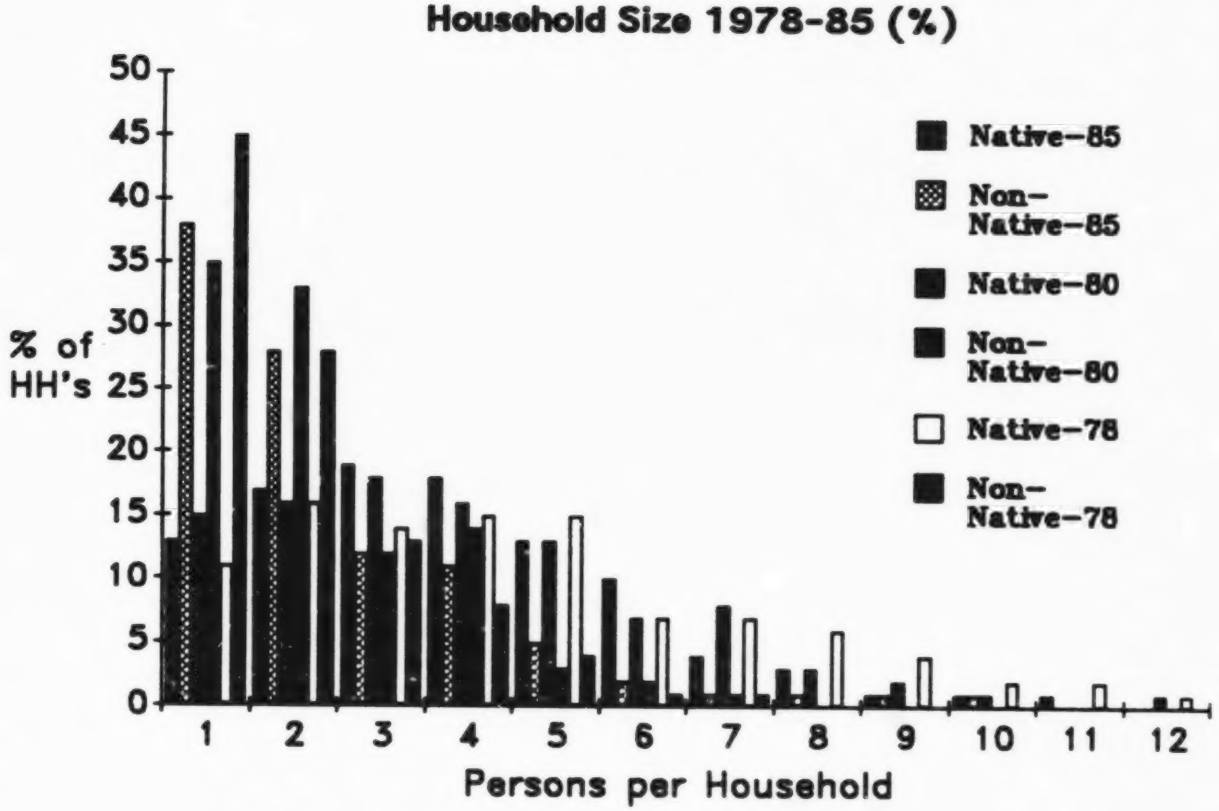
Figure F



Note: Native includes households with Iñupiat, Indian, or Aleut in residence.

Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

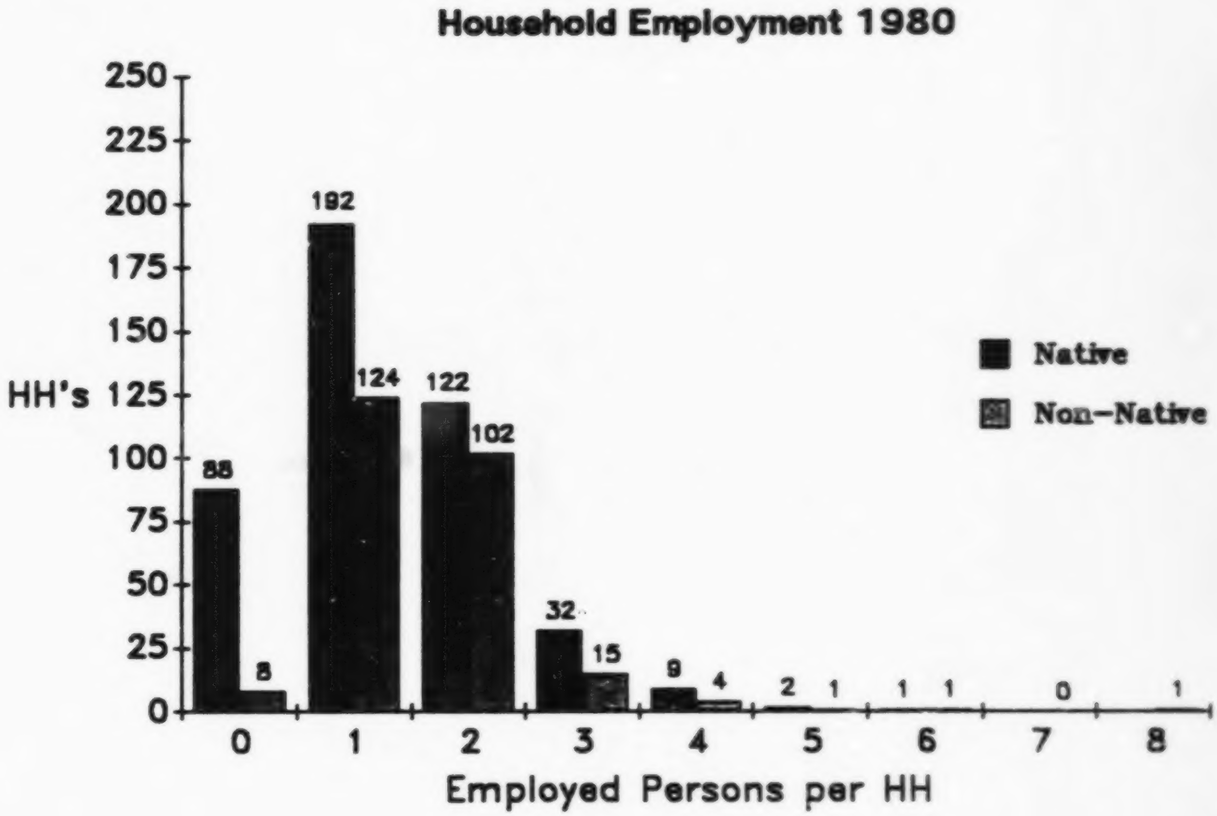
Figure G



Note: Native includes households with Iñupiat, Indian, or Aleut in residence.

Source: North Slope Borough surveys.

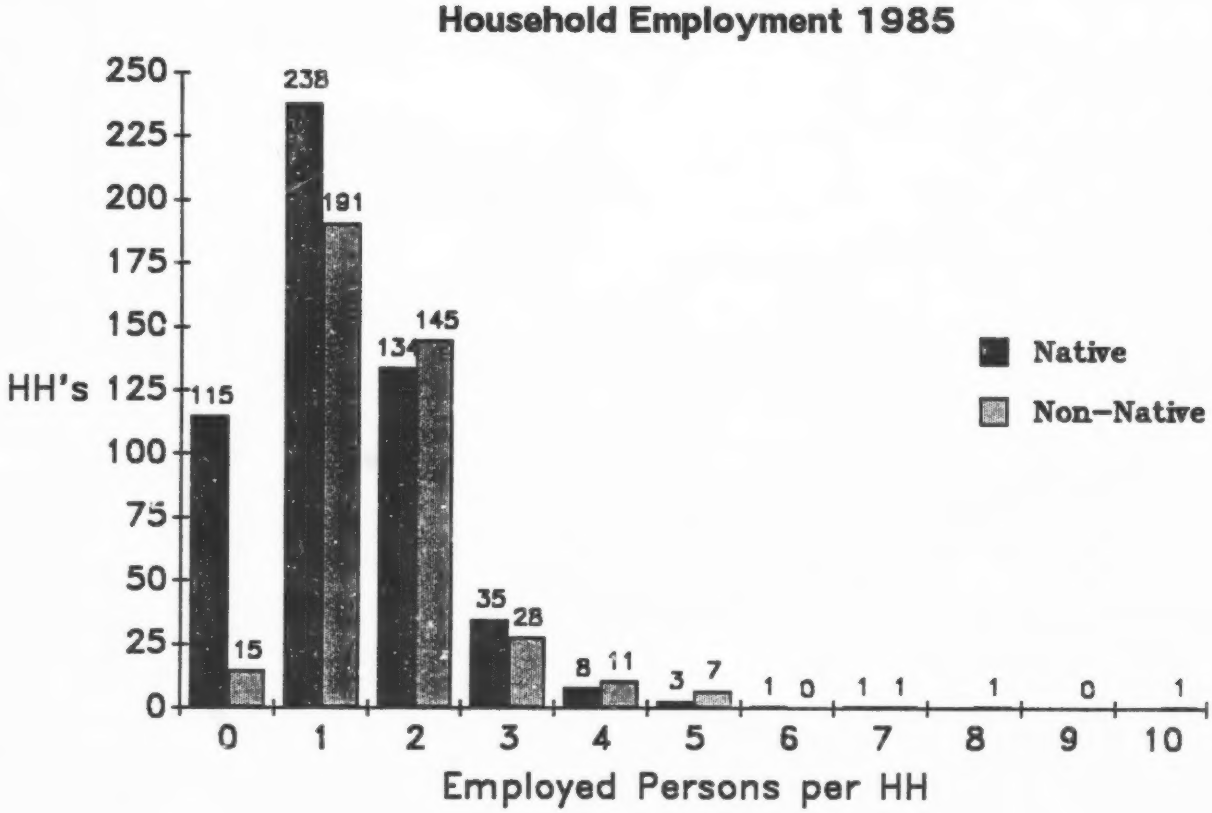
Figure H



Note: Native includes households with Iñupiat, Indian, or Aleut in residence.

Source: North Slope Borough survey.

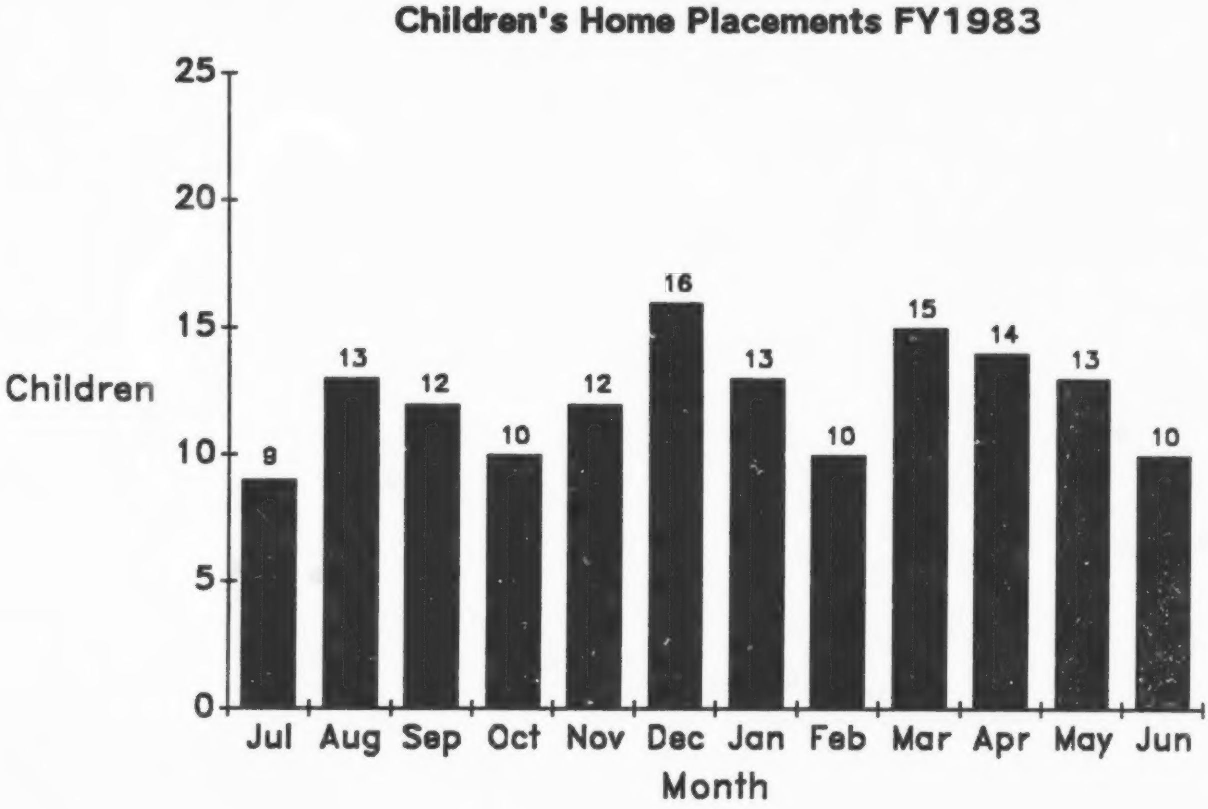
Figure I



Note: Native includes households with Iñupiat, Indian, or Aleut in residence.

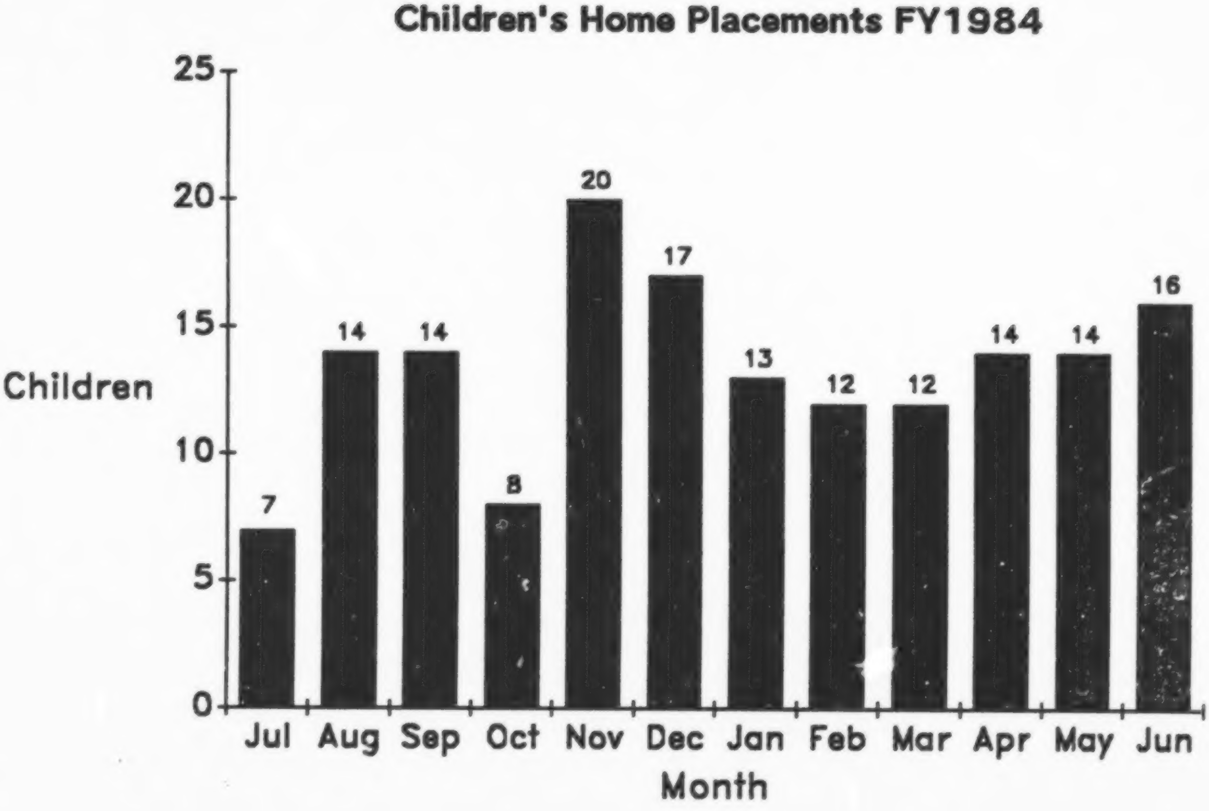
Source: 1985 Barrow Housing and Employment Survey.

Figure J



Source: North Slope Borough Department of Health and Social Services.

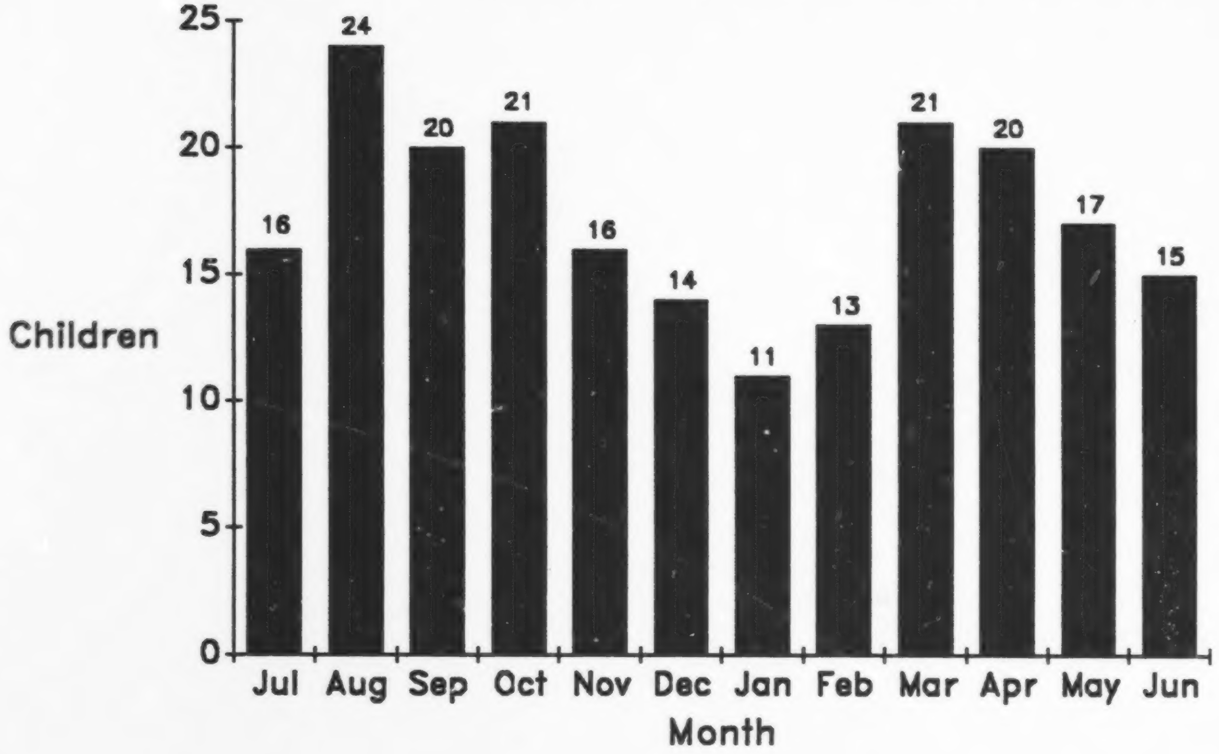
Figure K



Source: North Slope Borough Department of Health and Social Services.

Figure L

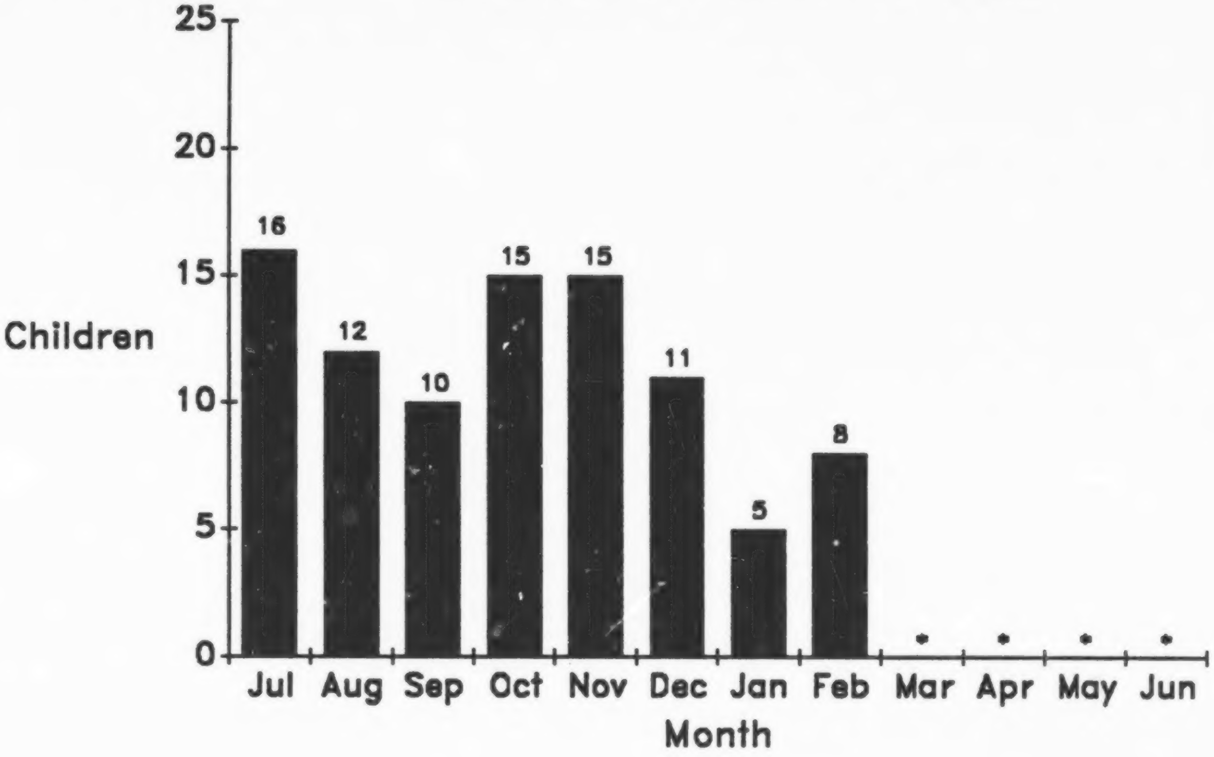
Children's Home Placements FY1985



Source: North Slope Borough Department of Health and Social Services.

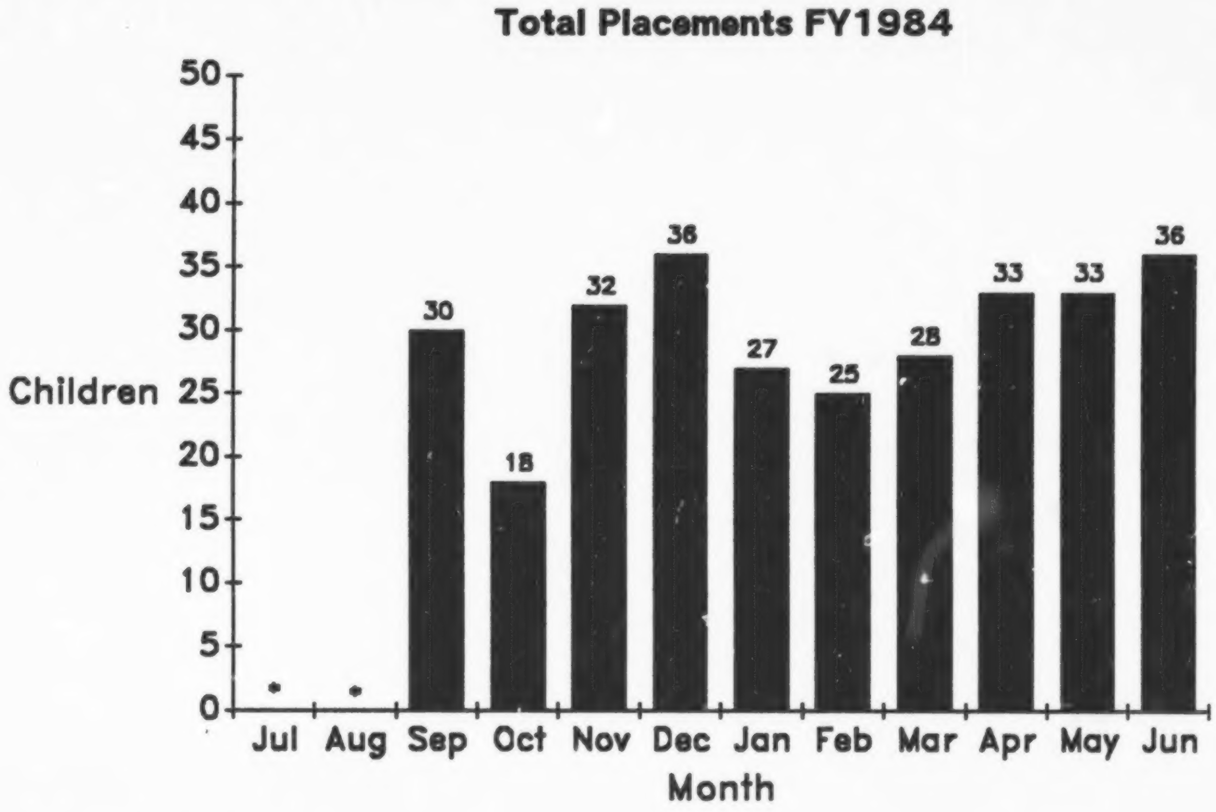
Figure M

Children's Home Placements FY1986



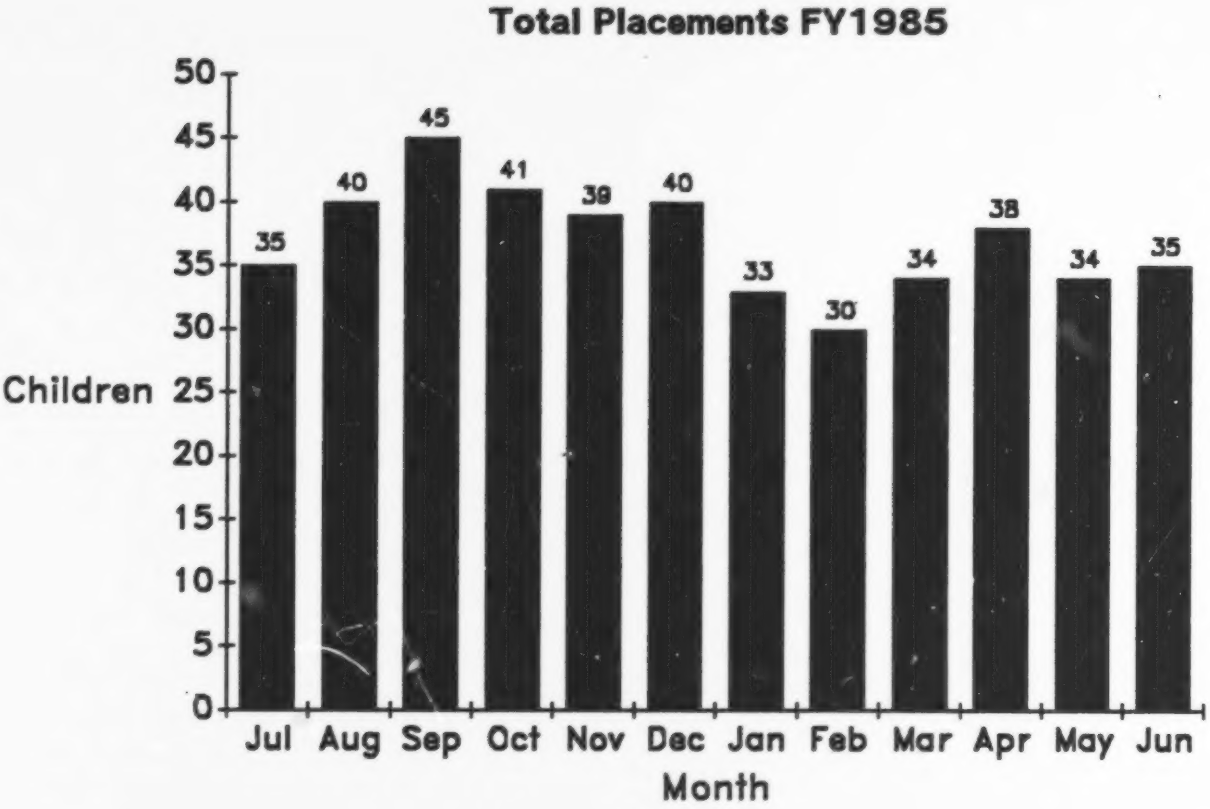
Source: North Slope Borough Department of Health and Social Services.

Figure N



Source: North Slope Borough Department of Health and Social Services.

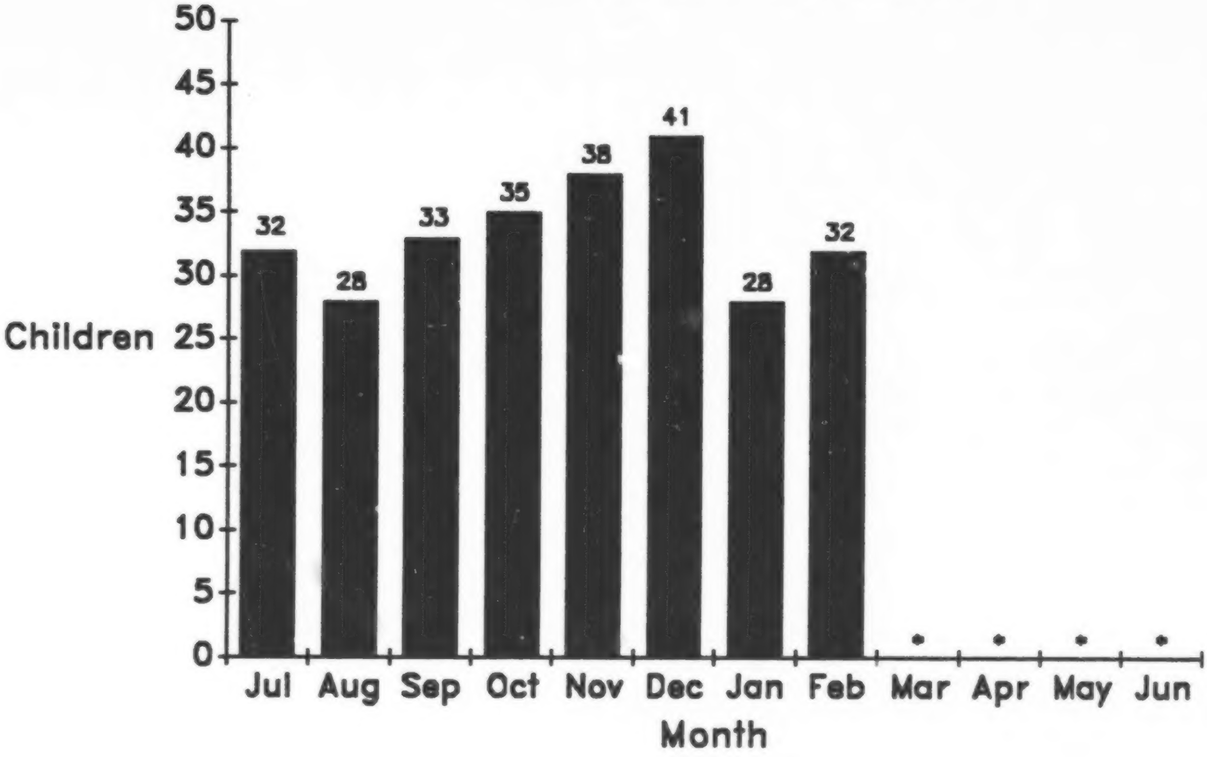
Figure O



Source: North Slope Borough Department of Health and Social Services.

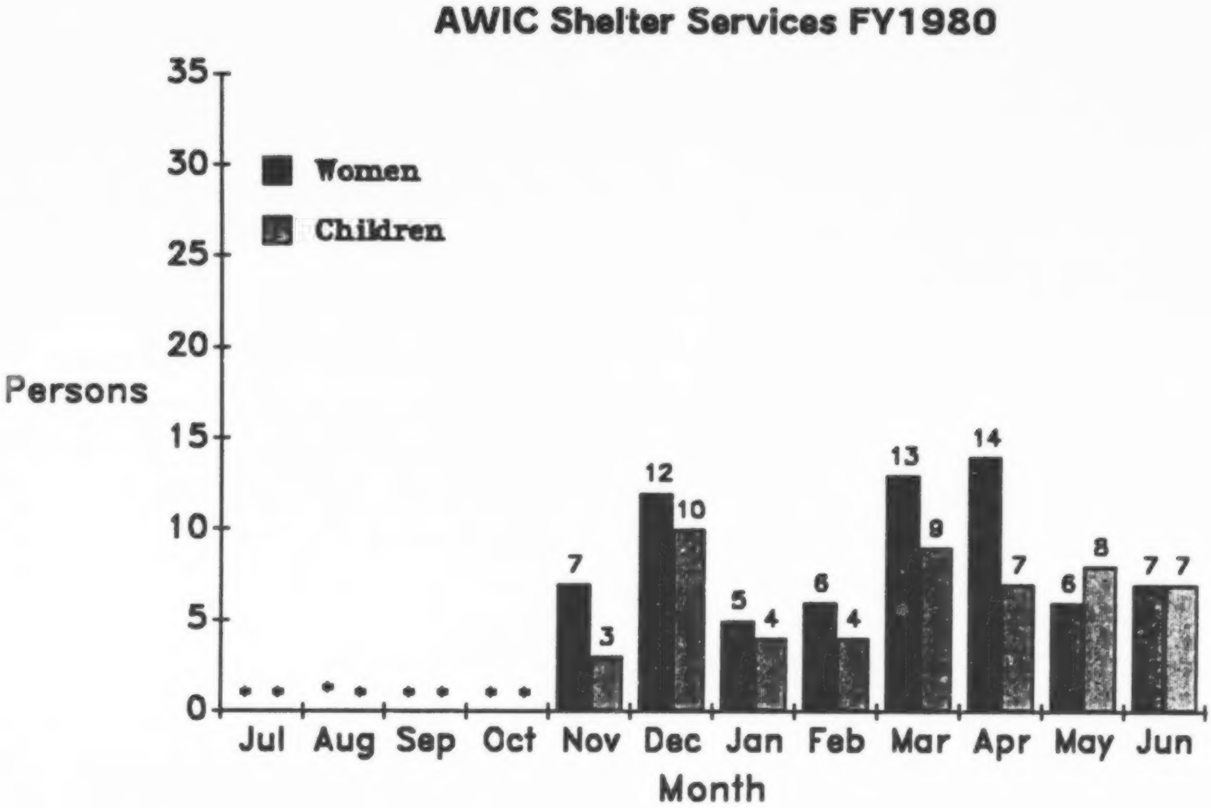
Figure P

Total Placements FY1986



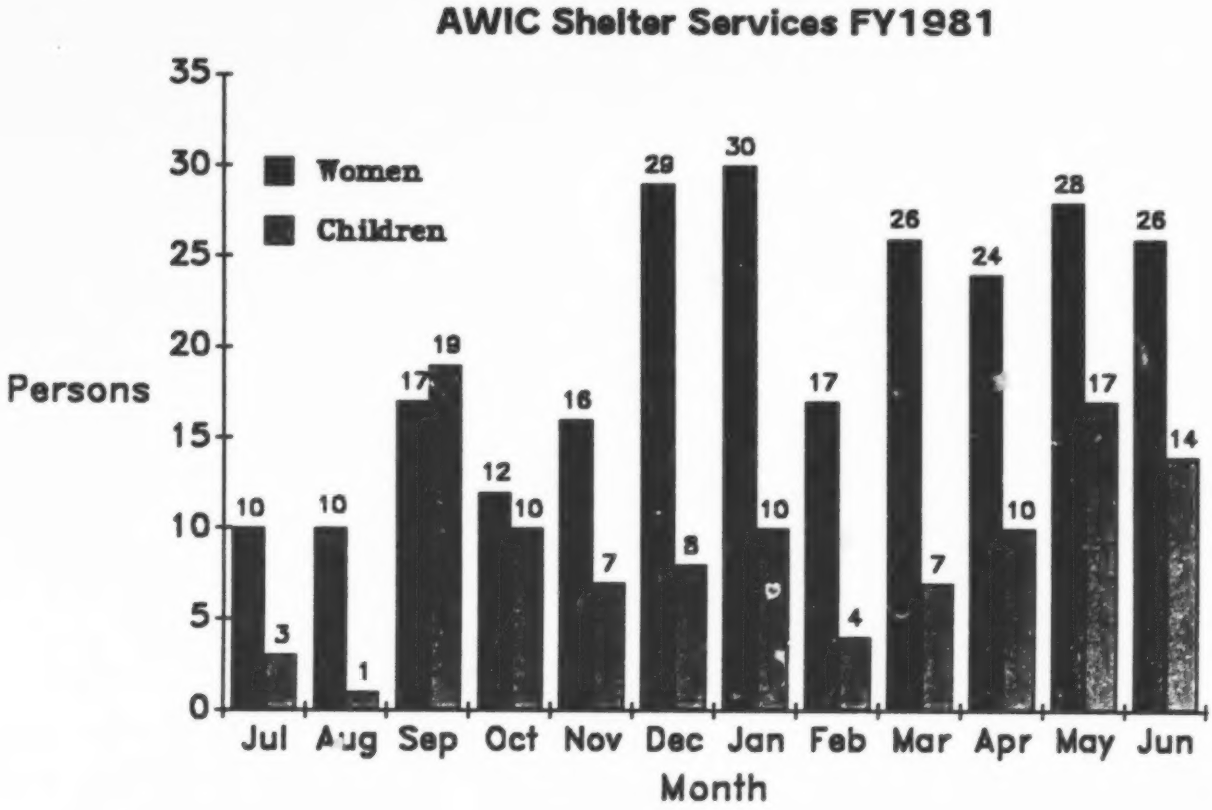
Source: North Slope Borough Department of Health and Social Services.

Figure Q



Source: North Slope Borough Department of Health and Social Services.

Figure R


AWIC Shelter Services FY1981

Source: North Slope Borough Department of Health and Social Services.

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Appendix D

Social Service and Recreational Facilities

Recreational Centers

Barrow Community Center - recreational rooms and kitchen for use by community organizations and groups, bingo hall.

Barrow Recreational Center - Community sports facility (racquetball courts, gym, sauna, whirlpool).

Barrow Teen Center - Recreational rooms, kitchen, and table games for youth.

Schools - Sports facilities (gyms, indoor track, swimming pool, showers) and multi-purpose room (large space for community gatherings, conferences, and celebrations).

Playgrounds - Softball fields, children's play areas.

Shelters, Safe Houses, and Drop-In Houses

Arctic Women In Crisis Shelter - Safe, temporary residence for physically abused and sexually assaulted women and their children (open 24 hours).

Children's Receiving Home - Short- or long-term residence for neglected and abused children (open 24 hours).

Friendship House - Substance abuse counselling and education center. (Open house 1 p.m. to 3 a.m., Tuesday; 8:30 a.m. to 3 a.m. Wednesday through Saturday.)

Youth Drop-In Center - Youth, counselling and education center. (Open 3 p.m. to 11 p.m., Monday through Friday.)

Other Social Service Centers

Barrow Day Care Center - Child day-care facility.

Polar Bear Day Care - Child day-care facility.

Community Mental Health Center - Counselling and evaluation services.

Youth Alternatives Program - Upiksu Summer Camp (inland); Arctic Winter Survival (inland); Youth patrol (11 p.m. to 2 a.m.), counselling services.

Family and Youth Services - Intervention, counselling, and placement of neglected and abused children and adults.

Senior Citizen Center - Mid-day meals and recreational space (games, movies) for elders.

Public Assistance - Food stamps, AFDC.

Women-Infants-Children Program - Food supplements for needy families with new-born children.

Health Services

IHS Hospital and Clinic - In-patient hospital and afternoon out-patient clinic.

PHS Nurse and Clinic - Vaccinations, birth control, and education.

Dentist - Dental care.

Eye Clinic - Optical shop.

Voluntary Organizations

Barrow Mothers Club - Contributions to families and youth.

Barrow Health Board - Advisory group for community health issues.

Veterans of Foreign Wars - Contributions to needy families.

Barrow Search and Rescue - Volunteers for rescue of people lost or in trouble inland or at sea.

Filipino-American Society - Service organization of local Filipino population.

Churches

Utkeagvik Presbyterian Church - Counselling, contributions of food to needy families (Deacons); also Ikayuqtit (Helpers), Church Women's Association, and Youth Group.

Bethel Assembly of God Church - counselling.

Private Establishments

Mattie's Cafe - Restaurant at Brower's Store.
Pepe's North of the Border - Mexican restaurant, meetings, concerts.
Sam and Lee's - Korean restaurant.
Ken's - Restaurant at airport.
Arctic Pizza - Pizza parlor, home delivery.
Articade - Computer game room, snacks, restaurant.
Danner's Dry Haul Cafe - Restaurant, dance floor with live rock bands until 3 a.m.

Appendix E

Barrow Community League Teams

Baseball Teams - Men's League	Sponsor
Arctic Coast Traders	Alternates between two white entrepreneurs
MarkAir's Final Notice	MarkAir
Barrow Volunteer Fire Dept.	Barrow Volunteer Fire
Dept.	
NAPA Parts and Supply	Eskimos, Inc., Parts
BUECI (Barrow Utilities)	BUECI (Barrow Utilities)
C.B.'s	Charlie Brower
North Slope Borough	North Slope Borough
NSB Housing	Self-sponsored
Air Tugs	Tundra Air & Bowhead Transportation

Baseball Teams - Women's League	Sponsor
Sikumiut	Cape Smythe Air Service
Barrow Bears	Sohio
Raiders	Self-sponsored
Barrow Beauties	Pepe's Restaurant - Elephant Pot
Utkiagvik Chargers	No sponsor
ASRC Aces	ASRC
Arctic Foxes	BUECI

Basketball Teams - Men's League	Sponsor
Arctic Coast Trading Post	Arctic Coast Trading Post
ASRC	Eskimos, Inc.
Incognitos	Danner Dry Wall
Tundra Air Service Nanooks	Tundra Air
Cape Smythe Kings	Tom Brower
Bunda, Inc.	Self-sponsored

Basketball Teams - Women's League	Sponsor
Akluq	A C Stuaqpak
Siksriks	Sohio
Oavviks	Frank Moolin & Assoc.
Qunulliq	North Coast Services

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Glossary

ACS	Alaska Communication Service
ADF&G	Alaska Department of Fish & Game
AEWC	Alaska Eskimo Whaling Commission
AFDC	Aid to Families with Dependent Children
Akka	Grandmother
AKOUNA-TC	Association of Municipal Governments: Atkasuk, Kaktovik, Olgoonik, Nuiqsut, Anatuvuk Pass, Tigara, Culley
ANCSA	Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971
ANS	Alaska Native Service
ANWR	Arctic National Wildlife Refuge
ARCON	Arctic Contractors
ASRC	Arctic Slope Regional Corporation
AWIC	Arctic Women in Crisis Shelter
BAP	Barrow Alcohol Program
BIA	Bureau of Indian Affairs
BLM	Bureau of Land Management
BUECI	Barrow Utilities and Electric Co-op Inc.
CHA	Community Health Aide Program
CIP	Capital Improvement Program
DEW	Distant Early Warning Line
DFYS	Division of Family and Youth Services
DHSS	NSB Department of Health and Social Services
DSS	Alaska Division of Social Services
EMT	Emergency Medical Services
Etok	Charlie Edwardsen, Jr.
ICAS	Inupiat Community of the Arctic Slope
ICC	Inuit Circumpolar Conference
Igliq	Sleeping platform
Igluparuk	Little house
IHS	Indian Health Service
Iliappak	Individual who has few material possessions
Ilagiit	Persons related by kinship (extended)
Iñupiaq	Singular for Inupiat: real person; also: reference to language
Iñupiat	Real person; term by which the indigenous population designate themselves; North Alaskan Eskimo.
Iñupiat Paitot	People's heritage

IRA	Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, Amended in 1936 to extend to Alaska
IRS	Internal Revenue Service
IWC	International Whaling Commission
Kammik	Boots
Kanigluk	Hunting camp at Prudhoe Bay
Katak	Entryway into the house through the floor
KBRW	Barrow's public radio station
KIC	Kuparuk Industrial Center
Killulligmiut	Name of qargi in Barrow
MCA	Minors Consuming Alcohol
MMS	Minerals Management Service (USDOI)
Nalukataq	Captain's feast
NARL	Naval Arctic Research Laboratory
Natqun	Persons related by close (sibling-like) kinship relationships
NPR-A	National Petroleum Reserve - Alaska (formerly PET-4)
NSB	North Slope Borough
Nuvuk	Old village located at Pt. Barrow
OCS	Outer Continental Shelf
PET-4	Naval Petroleum Reserve Number 4 (now called NPR-A)
PHS	Public Health Hospital
Pigniq	Hunting site outside of Barrow also called "Shooting Station" (identified as Birnirk in archaeological sources)
Piruqaaq	To visit relatives in other villages
Piuraaqiaaqta	Let's go play
Qargi	Communual or cermonial house
Qila	Conjuring Spirits
Qilanikkaq	Shaman's power to change people
RuralCAP	Rural Alaska Community Action Program, Inc.
Saptaq	Traditional healing practice, To massage
Saptaqti	Individuals who practice saptaq
SATS	Substance Abuse Treatment Program
Sigluagmiut	Name of qargi in Barrow
SSI	Social Security Income
Stuaqpak	'Big Store,' the large grocery and variety store owned by UIC and operated by Alaska Commercial Company

Tanik	White person
TB	Tuberculosis
Tigara	Point Hope Village
Ualligmiut	Name of qargi in Barrow
Ugruk	Bearded seal
UIC	Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation
Ukpiagvik	Place to hunt snowy owls. Old name of Barrow
Umialik	Whaling captain
Umialit	Whaling captains (plural)
Umiaq	Large skin boat
Umiat	Large skin boats (plural)
Umma	Relationship through having the same name
Upiksu	Summer camp for North Slope youth sponsored by the borough's Department of Health and Social Services
Uraq	Fermented walrus flippers
USDOI	United States Department of Interior
Ukpeagvik Inupiat Corporation	Barrow village corporation created under ANSCA
Utqiagvik	Variation of Ukpiagvik; Name currently used for Barrow
Utqiagvingmiut	Inhabitants of Utqiagvik
WIC	Women-Infant-Children Program